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NOVOYE VREMYA DISCUSSES U.S. START POSTURE

PM111231 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 2, 7 Jan 83 pp 5-6

[Editorial article: "Is the United States Ready for Agreement? What Two Rounds of the Geneva Talks on Limiting and Reducing Nuclear Arms Have Shown"]

[Text] The solution of the problem of limiting and reducing strategic arms is of global significance. The two rounds of Soviet-American talks in Geneva on this issue have shown the essence of the proposals submitted by both sides as the basis for agreement. Since attempts are being made in the statements of American politicians to distort the Soviet proposals, the USSR believes itself obliged to offer a true assessment of the situation at the talks. This assessment was made 2 January in an editorial article in the newspaper PRAVDA. It compared both sides' positions on the most important areas of debate in Geneva.

At the talks the Soviet Union advocates channeling the discussion of the problem of limiting and reducing strategic arms toward preparing a mutually acceptable agreement and ensuring the strict and complete implementation of the principle of equality and equal security in the future agreement. The new agreement must accord with the task of preserving and maintaining at a considerably lower level the approximate parity of forces that has taken shape between the USSR and the United States and as enshrined during the conclusion of the SALT II treaty.

But Washington, ducking out of talks for almost 18 months, laid down a program for sharply building up its own strategic arms -- that is, a program for smashing the parity of forces -- against the background of a slander campaign against the SALT II treaty. The United States came to the talks wanting to secure advantages for itself and rejecting the principle of equality and equal security.

Moscow proposed limiting and reducing all strategic armaments, not some individual, arbitrarily chosen types of them. Since 70 percent of the USSR's strategic potential (counting in terms of warheads) is accounted for by ground-launched ICBM's and more than 80 percent of the United States' by submarine-launched ballistic missiles and heavy bombers, the search for a mutually acceptable agreement can be conducted only by means of jointly examining all types of strategic arms while taking into account factors determining the strategic situation. The USSR is proposing that the total number of ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers and heavy bombers be reduced in stages to 1,800 units on each side by 1990 -- in other words, that the original ceiling on these weapons established under the SALT II treaty be lowered by 25 percent. The number of nuclear warheads on these delivery vehicles would also be reduced to equal agreed levels. And during all stages of the reductions the USSR and the United States would remain in an equal position from the viewpoint of ensuring their security. The parity between them in the strategic sphere would persist.

Here the Soviet Union has taken into account the fact that the United States possesses forward-based nuclear weapons deployed in the immediate vicinity of the borders of the USSR and its allies. These weapons are strategic in character as far as the USSR is concerned. Since they are balanced by nothing on the Soviet side (we have no similar weapons near U.S. territory), the relative weight of the American forward-based nuclear weapons within the strategic balance between the sides would steadily increase when the quantity of ICMB's, SLBM's and heavy bombers was reduced. So the USSR is proposing that during [pri] the mutual reduction of strategic nuclear forces the United States at the very least not build up other nuclear weapons capable of reaching targets on USSR territory. Otherwise the United States would receive a channel for undermining the foundations of the future agreement.

The Soviet proposals are also aimed at limiting the qualitative improvement of strategic armaments. The USSR is in favor of prohibiting certain new types of strategic armaments, in particular cruise missiles of all types of basing with a range of over 600 km, and limiting the modernization of existing armaments to agreed parameters. It has also put forward proposals aimed at strengthening strategic stability and increasing trust between the USSR and the United States.

The American side is stubbornly rejecting the comprehensive approach. It maintains that ballistic missiles must be reduced first, and the rest -- bombers and cruise missiles -- later. The U.S. proposal to reduce the sides' ballistic missiles to the level of 850 units at first glance would seem to envisage both significant reductions and the observance of equality. But only at first glance. The Soviet Union is being told to reduce twice as many ballistic missiles as the United States. In addition to ICBM's and SLBM's, the United States has over 550 heavy bombers (not subject to reduction during the first stage, according to its proposals), whereas the Soviet Union has less of them several times over. As a result the United States would have approximately 1,400 strategic delivery vehicles while the Soviet Union would have almost one and 1/2 times less that amount. And when it came to the number of nuclear charges on these delivery vehicles, the United States would obtain almost threefold superiority.

How does the American side propose treating the Soviet ICMB's? If the whole package of American proposals were adopted, the USSR would have to dismantle more than 90 percent of the ICBM's that constitute the foundation of the USSR's strategic defense potential, while the United States would be able to increase considerably the number of warheads on its own ICBM's and to continue implementing programs to strengthen strategic weapons.

Thus the American approach is a plan for the unilateral disarmament of the USSR and for securing U.S. superiority in the strategic sphere.

The Soviet Union is envisaging the implementation of specific joint steps aimed at agreeing, within the framework of an accord on limiting and reducing strategic arms, on closing all possible channels for a race -- in both the quantitative and qualitative spheres. But the American stance effectively programs such a race for years to come and in spheres in which the United States hopes to derive special advantages for itself. Thus the United States will spend almost $23 billion on strategic arms in 1983.

Another vivid illustration of this is the U.S. rejection of the Soviet-proposed ban on the deployment of long-range cruise missiles of all types of basing. In practice this signifies a U.S. intention to more than make up for the reduction in the number of warheads on ballistic missiles through the massive deployment of long-range nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. After all, according to published data, the United States wants to equip heavy bombers alone with almost 4,000 such missiles. The result would be not a reduction but a direct buildup, and a considerable one, in the number of nuclear warheads on strategic delviery vehicles.

The American Administration talks of a desire for "reductions" as camouflage for the buildup of its own strategic potential and in particular for the development of the new MX ICBM and Trident II SLBM, which are first-strike weapons. This is clearly why Washington is refusing to accept the Soviet proposal on limiting the deployment of new missile submarines -- the Ohio class in the United States and similar systems in the USSR.

The U.S. attempts to secure superiority, including via the creation and deployment of new types and forms of strategic armaments, are clearly untenable -- just like the attempts to justify its military efforts by citing some kind of "lag" behind the USSR, which in actual fact simply does not exist. And the claims that new weapons systems such as the MX missile, for instance, are designed to "help the success of the talks" sound anything but serious.

The American side rejected -- without any serious reasons -- the far-reaching Soviet proposals aimed at preventing the emergence of crises and at strengthening trust. Yet it is a question of agreeing on the following within the framework of a future agreement: to ban flights by one side's heavy bombers and sailing by its aircraft carriers in agreed zones adjoining the other side's territory; to notify one another in good time of mass takeoffs of heavy bombers and forward-based aircraft; and to establish for missile submarines zones within which any antisubmarine warfare activity by the other side would be prohibited.

The course of the talks on limiting and reducing strategic arms, just like the American Administration's actions, shows that Washington is more interested in preserving a deadlock at the talks rather than in advancing them in a constructive direction. This is also clearly associated with the fact that it intends at all costs to "upgrade the arms" of West Europe with its own medium-range nuclear missiles.

It is by no means a U.S. desire to reach mutually acceptable agreement, which is shown by the U.S. Administration's continuing attempts -- despite the facts it has been given -- to declare that the Soviet Tu-22M aircraft ("Backfire"), which is a medium bomber and has nothing to do with strategic arms, is a heavy bomber.

The course of the talks could be adversely influenced by implementation of the plan for "Dense Pack basing" of the MX ICBM recently announced by R. Reagan, which is a direct contravention of the sides' commitments under the SALT I and SALT II accords not to build further stationary launchers (that is, silos) for ICBM's.

During the second round the U.S. delegation refused to consider the draft "Foundations of an Agreement Between the USSR and the United States on Limiting and Reducing Strategic Arms" submitted by the USSR delegation, although reaching agreement on this document would substantially facilitate work on preparing a final agreement. The American side also rejects the Soviet proposal on freezing strategic arms right at the present stage, ending the process of their quantitative and qualitative buildup and thereby ensuring the most favorable conditions for reaching agreement and creating the preconditions for the implementation of real disarmament measures.

The stagnation at the talks is entirely on the conscience of the U.S. Administration, which is continuing to persist in its absolutely one-sided approach. If Washington is hoping to secure military advantages for the United States, these are empty hopes. The Soviet Union will not allow such a turn of events.

Parity, equality and equal security, the PRAVDA editorial article says, are the immutable foundation on which agreement on questions of limiting and reducing strategic arms can and must be based.

IZVESTIYA DELINEATES NEW SOVIET MISSILE PROPOSAL

PM111417 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 82 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by S. Kondrashov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "It Is up to the Good Will of the West"]

[Text] Of the problems which the past year has left behind for its successor the most acute is the problem of nuclear arms in Europe. Unless the Soviet-U.S. talks on the subject in Geneva end in success, according to the NATO timetable new U.S. missiles will appear in West Europe at the end of this year. As the Warsaw Part states' Political Declaration rightly notes, given this "approach tantamount to setting an artificial deadline for the completion of the talks," it is possible to extend them still further to no purpose in order then, citing the lack of accord, to begin the practical deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles.

It is not hard to guess that with these U.S. "gifts" under next year's Christmas tree peace in Europe will become even more fragile.

The Geneva talks, placed within a strict time frame, are now attracting increasingly close attention. The positions of those taking part in them -- the USSR and the United States -- are being subjected to increasingly close analysis by professional politicians and the broad public which dreams that hope will still prevail in the present complex balance between anxieties and hopes.

That is why, as the old year has given way to the new, there has been and is no international issue discussed more animatedly than the proposals in the report delivered by Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to mark the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation and in his replies to the U.S. political observer J. Kingsbury-Smith.

They confirmed the very radical Soviet proposal to renounce all types of nuclear weapons designed to hit targets in Europe -- both medium-range and tactical.

Another option previously advanced was also affirmed: that the USSR and NATO countries cut back their medium-range nuclear arms by more than two-thirds. Finally an important new element was introduced into the Soviet position, again demonstrating our readiness to go a long way to meet our U.S. partners at the Geneva talks and the West European governments which, under the NATO "twin-track solution," intend to accept U.S. missiles on their territory if the talks fail.

What is this new Soviet step? As is well known, calculations on our party formerly spoke of total numbers of medium-range missile and aircraft nuclear weapons in Europe, of which the Soviet Union and NATO countries have approximately 1,000 each.

Now the Soviet Union has suggested the principle of separate counting of missiles and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons.

The Soviet side is, as it were, telling its opposite numbers: "You state that you are most worried by the numbers of our medium-range missiles and that it is for this reason that you intend to deploy about 600 of your Pershings and cruise missiles in West Europe. Fine. We are prepared to keep in Europe the same number of missiles as Britain and France have -- and not a single missile more. We are going a good way to meet you."

And we are going a long way. Because this proposal, translated into the language of figures, means that the Soviet Union would cut back hundreds of missiles, including several dozen of its most modern missiles, called SS-20 missiles in the West.

At the same time it is planned to reduce to equal levels the numbers of aircraft carrying medium-range nuclear weapons designed for operations in Europe.

And so, not a single missile, not a single aircraft more, on either side. The principle of the strictest parity reduced to arithmetical clarity. It contains far more logic -- and justice! -- than President Reagan's so-called "zero option." I recall that the U.S. plan provides for the elimination of all Soviet medium-range missiles in exchange for Washington's renunciation of the deployment of its missiles in West Europe. That means "zero" on the Soviet side while leaving unaffected the French and British missiles (totaling 162). A misleading "zero" which is tantamount to an invitation to unilateral disarmament. Yet the new Soviet plan, leaving the Soviet Union just as many missiles as the U.S. allies -- Britain and France -- possess, reduces the missile confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States in Europe to a genuine zero. Here is is, the zero option -- without falsification and, in turn, an intermediate one. After all, our maximum program for Europe is the continent's total liberation from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical.

How was the Soviet initiative received in the West? Washington, where the reaction to Moscow proposals under the present administration is often automatically negative, tried to dismiss it out of hand. The attempt failed. Just as it did for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who was at variance here even with the more cautious stance of her own foreign secretary, Francis Pym. Dismiss it? The new Soviet initiative proved too serious and large to be dismissed. By dismissing it, one could be committing a political mistake in the eyes of public opinion.

In general the Soviet proposals easily survived these first trivial onslaughts. Despite them, they have won a place at the center of current international life, and many thinking people concerned for the fate of the Geneva talks welcomed them with great interest and respect, and with approval -- as most convincing evidence of Moscow's desire for a constructive solution to the problem of nuclear arms in Europe. "To be honest, the Western allies were obliged (obliged! -- S.K.) to view the Soviet proposal as unsuitable for talks," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes in an editorial. And it goes on: "Whether it will now be possible to limit the number of Euromissiles by an agreement depends more on psychology than on arithmetic."

Let us try to clarify this idea. THE NEW YORK TIMES believes that questions of arithmetic -- more or less? -- cannot now be advanced as a fundamental obstacle. These questions have been eliminated. There remains psychology, or in other words political will. Good will to reach agreement. The will which Moscow has displayed yet again. The will which has just been proclaimed in Prague by the leaders of the Warsaw Pact states who said in their Political Declaration that they "consider the key task is to prevent the unleashing of a new cycle of the nuclear arms race in Europe and to achieve the reduction and limitation of these arms." In response Washington and its allies must display the same will if they are really striving for peace and stability in Europe and not for a dangerous new spiral of the arms race.

The Soviet Union also raises the question of a more clear-cut stance on the party of Paris and London. French and British representatives are not at the conference table in Geneva but that in no way renders the French and British missiles nonexistent in the overall balance of nuclear arms in Europe. These missiles cannot be excluded from this balance by declaring them to be "independent" (which is what Paris and London are doing). In speaking of "independent" nuclear forces Paris, for instance, would like to emphasize its special attitude toward the NATO military organization. But whatever the nature of this independence, the French select targets for their missiles not on the other side of the Atlantic or in the West at all. The Soviet Union cannot disregard this fact.

"The Soviet leadership can be forgiven for believing such subtleties (concerning the 'independent' nature of the French and British nuclear forces -- S.K.) to be our problem and not theirs," the American Richard (Almen), a Princeton University professor, reasonably writes. "In its statements the USSR invariably indicates that a fair deal on limiting nuclear arms in Europe should take into consideration all missiles targeted on Soviet territory and not only those with our stars and stripes on them."

The same idea, backed up by a logical conclusion, is present in the argument of a West German, Herman Scheer, an eminent member of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany and Bundestag deputy: "We cannot expect the Soviet Union to reduce its medium-range missiles to zero and still remain face to face in Europe with the French and British missiles, which, moreover, are being planned to be stepped up in the next few years and which are of course targeted against the Soviet Union. A refusal to consider the French and British missiles at the talks would be tantamount to a covert Western bid for superiority."

Yes, a Western bid for superiority. And not so covert.

The new Soviet initiative is one of those political actions whose impact is of a long-term nature. It can boldly be suggested that it will have a great influence on the shaping of the political climate in West Europe, which is now returning to its daily and quite alarming business after the brief season of festive oblivion over Christmas and the New Year. This initiative will lend a beneficial impetus to the already powerful antimissile movement not least in West Germany which is moreover entering a period of keen election struggle. It is well known that the FRG has been chosen as the main launchsite for U.S. missiles. An increasing number of West Germans realize the danger this role is fraught with, and the protest movement is particularly strong in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party which recently became a opposition party.

Dishonest people allege that by its initiative Moscow is "maliciously" kindling the antimissile movement in West Europe. These are not new fabrications. They are absurd accusations designed for simpletons who do not trouble to engage in even elementary thought. Of course Moscow is in favor of the antimissile movement developing, but surely this is not a malicious intention. Surely good will for the reduction of military antagonism in Europe cannot be explained by malicious intentions?

The top representatives of the Warsaw Pact states assembled in Prague confirmed their readiness for dialogue and cooperation with all those who are seeking to strengthen peace. They came out with one more important initiative, suggesting to the NATO states that they conclude a treaty on the reciprocal nonuse of force and the maintenance of relations of peace.

It seems that some commotion has arisen across the ocean in connection with the new "peace offensive" by Moscow and the other socialist capitals. If Washington feels that it is in an uncomfortable position we can offer one good and correct way out of this position: that it associate itself with the "peace offensive," displaying the same good will and the same constructive approach.

FRG REACTION TO SOVIET MISSILES OFFER VIEWED

LD111154 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 11 Jan 83

["A Realistic Approach Is Needed" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Vladimir Serov writes:

The Warsaw Treaty member-states' new peace initiatives, in particular the proposal towards a radical reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security, which was advanced by the Soviet Union on December 21, 1982, have evoked broad, positive response throughout the world. They have also been met with profound approval and hopes by the public in the Federal Republic of Germany. And this is understandable, for the population of that country is most worried by Washington's and NATO's intention to begin already this year to implement their sinister nuclear-missile plans, in accordance with which a lion's share of U.S. cruise missiles and more Pershings are to be sited in the territory of the FRG.

It is precisely for this reason that the realistically thinking politicians on the Rhine have appraised at their true worth and hailed the USSR's new initiative aimed at removing the nuclear threat from Europe and ensuring reliable security and a durable peace for its population. In this connection one's attention is attracted by the assessment given to the new Soviet proposals by the leading expert of the Social Democratic Party of Germany for disarmament issues, Egon Bahr. In an article published in the weekly VORWARTS, he first of all singles out as reasonable and quite justified the USSR's offer to retain in Europe only as many Soviet medium-range missiles as are kept by Britain and France, if the United States abandons the deployment of its new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Indeed, is not it clear that the medium-range nuclear missiles of Britain and France (although the latter is not a part of NATO's miltiary wing) are targeted at the USSR and its allies and not at the United States and that for this reason the Soviet Union has to have a proper counterbalance to this nuclear potential of the NATO countries?

And if we take into account that, as Egon Bahr points out, London and Paris intend to build up their nuclear-missile arsenals even further, it is quite unrealistic to hope that the Soviet Union will phase out its medium-range weapons to zero.

It is quite logical that the disarmament expert of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany criticises President Reagan's notorious "zero option," which totally disregards these realities and which is nothing short of a smokescreen for Washington to push through its plans for turning Europe into a beachhead for U.S. nuclear missiles. Denouncing this stand of the United States, Egon Bahr writes: "The Soviet Union has taken a step forward. The United States had not yet done so. It even takes pride in the fact that it has not budged. But it cannot continue in this way."

Like other sober-minded West German politicians, Egon Bahr understands what truly suicidal consequences the new round of the arms race threatens to West Germany, which is at the junction of the two miltiary-political groupings. Indeed, even a "limited" nuclear war with the use of only short-range tactical nuclear weapons portends devastating consequences for the small and densely populated Federal Republic of Germany. That is why the Social-Democratic politician advocates more active talks on both conventional arms and tactical nuclear weapons. It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union -- as Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, reiterated on December 21 -- is ready to conclude an agreement on the renunciation of all types of nuclear weapons intended to hit targets in Europe, both medium range and tactical weapons. The USSR is trying to break the deadlock at the talks on conventional arms as well. And if its efforts in this direction have not yet evoked a proper response from the West, primarily Washington, this just bespeaks the lack of realistic approach there.

Noteworthy in this connection was the reaction of the FRG foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, to the political declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. In an article in the newspaper NORDSEE ZEITUNG, he concedes that this declaration "is worthy of attention" and deserves "close study." The minister claims that the incumbent FRG Government seeks to facilitate the curbing of the arms race. But his views, summarised in that article, demonstrate that the leader of the Bonn foreign minsitry still holds an unrealistic position, which is far from being able to facilitate the curbing of the arms race. Although Genscher (apparently taking into account on the eve of elections to the Bundestag the sentiments of the voters) speaks about the possibility of an "intermediate" deicsion at the talks on limiting nuclear armaments in Europe, his position in the issue remains to be based on the Reagan "zero option," the absurdity and unacceptableness of which is now obvious to any realistically thinking politician.

Repeating his old "arguments," Genscher writes again about a mythical "Soviet threat" and about the USSR's alleged striving to preserve a "monopoly" on medium-range missiles. But what "monopoly" can be talked about if the Soviet Union plainly and explicitly declared that it is prepared to retain only as many such missiles as are kept by the North Atlantic Treaty member-countries -- and not a single missile over and above that level?

If the Bonn minister really cares for the interests of the FRG's security and is seeking to put an end to the arms race -- and is not pressing for NATO's nuclear-missile "rearmament," the way for this [is] open. It is indicated by the new peace initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. The only thing required of the West is goodwill and a constructive realistic approach.

Further FRG Reaction

PM111123 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 January 1983 Morning Editon carries on page 5 an 1,800-word L. Bezymenskiy article entitled "Is There Anything Automatic About the Guillotine?" Bezymenskiy outlines U.S. preparations for the deployment of missiles in the FRG against a background of "protest" and "struggle." He dismisses assertions that the 1979 Brussels decision on missile deployment is linked to progress at the Geneva talks and claims that the United States is preparing Europe for a "fait accompli" with regard to the deployment.

KONDRASHOV VIEWS WEST REACTION TO PACT PROPOSAL

LD111818 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 83

[From the Vremya newscast; commentary by IZVESTIYA political observer Stanislav Kondrashov]

[Text] Hello comrades. Only a few days have gone by since the publication of the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-states. As you know, it has evoked interest everywhere, enormous, incessant interest. The declaration is linked up with the initiatives advanced at the end of December by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and they show the peaceful approach of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

From the mass of responses I would now like to single out the responses of the official circles of the West primarily to the proposal on concluding an agreement on the nonuse of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between member-states of the Warsaw Pact on the one hand and NATO on the other. There is something which immediately comes to view in even a preliminary analysis of the official reaction of the West: first, the understanding and recognition of the importance of this proposal attitude toward them. Nearly all the NATO capitals have reacted, from Oslo in the north to Ankara in the south, from Bonn in the east to Madrid in the west. Even further west, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Washington has reacted. At a minimum, therefore, these official reactions show careful study of the idea of an agreement.

Second, the West has no objection in essence to the idea of an agreement on the nonuse of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations. I stress "in essence" as I do not consider as objections "in essence" the mentions by certain official representatives that, they say, the principle of the nonuse of force in interstate relations is stated in the UN Charter and that the very idea of a nonaggression agreement has been put forward previously by the socialist states. Does this detract from the proposal that has been made? It is a great pity that this idea was not implemented earlier. Now it is more topical than ever before, precisely when the situation in Europe and the world is more complex and dangerous than ever. The agreement would help to improve the international climate and would greatly strengthen the necessary trust between the two military-political blocs.

Finally, a third point about the West's official position, or rather, a question: Whiter will the NATO countries proceed from this polite but nuclear formula "careful study?" To the table for talks with the socialist states in order to discuss and implement everything in a specific manner, or to attempts to drag matters out and put a halt to them and to stifling interest and the new hopes of the European public and the world? For the time being, there is no definite answer to the question as to how the NATO countries will proceed. Much depends on Washington's position. To judge from several indications, its position in this case, too, is much harsher than that of U.S. allies in West Europe.

As reported in the U.S. press, the Reagan administration is stubbornly adhering to its, to put it mildly, unconstructive anti-Sovietism. However, and this is a sign of the changes which are taking place, as before it hesitates to reject the new initiative immediately. It fears political damage in the eyes of West European governments and, of course, peoples.

President Reagan has announced that on 13 January Vice President Bush is to fly to West Europe to visit the seven NATO countries and the Vatican. The official aim of the visit is consultations and harmonizing positions. The unofficial and real aim, as for example THE WASHINGTON POST writes, is to counter the growing antinuclear movement in West Europe and the influence on local public opinion of the peace offensive of the socialist countries. It seems they again wish to slam the door on dialogue in the name of peace. This (?exercise) is becoming ever more difficult.

CSSR SCIENTIST SCORES U.S. CHEMICAL ARMS PROGRAM

LD111206 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Prague January 11 TASS -- "I believe that in the world, with enough nuclear weapons to destroy the whole of civilization and the very life on earth umpteen times, it is difficult to imagine that there might be a real military need for having chemical deterence as a means to guarantee national interests," Jiri Franek, academic secretary of the Institute of Experimental Medicine under the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, has said in interview with the journal PROBLMEY MIRA I SOTSIALISMA (WORLD MARXIST REVIEW), published here.

Jiri Franek stressed that "the strategic idea of the Reagan administration is not disarmament, nor even arms control, but, on the contrary, intensification of the arms race in all directions as a means to assert by force the hegemony of American capital in world politics."

On the conclusion of the comprehensive agreement banning chemical weapons, the Czechoslovak scientist said that there are no unsurmountable obstacles. "The only hindrance is the present U.S. Administration's approach to the problem of chemical disarmament in general and binary weapons in particular."

LATE REPORT: USSR MAY DESTROY SOME SS-20'S

LD121542 Hamburg DPA in German 1503 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Excerpts] Moscow, 12 Jan (DPA) -- As part of an agreement on reducing medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union is also considering destroying some of its SS-20's. This was apparently indicated to SPD chancellor candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel and to a group of U.S. Congressmen in Moscow. Vogel indirectly confirmed this at a press conference at the conclusion of his 3-day visit today.

Vogel stated, however, that he first wanted to brief his "friends" in the Federal Republic about how CPSU General Secretary Yuriy Andropov on Tuesday and Soviet experts today had elucidated the Soviet and Warsaw Pact proposals. The SPD chancellor candidate repeated that he had ended his visits to Washington and Moscow "with greater hope" than he had started them.

At a luncheon in the Kremlin earlier, Vogel welcomed every step towards an agreement "removing existing missiles systems and preventing the establishment of new missile systems." Andropov's proposals contain "constructive elements which aim in this direction." Vogel went on to say: "we are also confident that other world power, with whom we are allied....will not persist unchangingly in its initial positions, especially on the question of medium-range missiles."

MEETING OF WARSAW PACT DEFENSE MINISTERS OPENS

LD111752 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Prague January 11 TASS -- A regular meeting of the Defense Ministers' Committee of Warsaw Treaty member states opened here today. It was chaired by Czechoslovakia's minister of national defence, General of the Army Martin Dzur.

Attending the meeting are Minister of People's Defence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria General of the Army D. Dzhurov, Minister of Defence of the Hungarian People's Republic General of the Army L. Czinege, Minister of National Defence of the GDR General of the Army H. Hoffmann, Deputy Minister of National Defence of the Polish People's Republic General of the Armour F. Siwicki, Minister of National Defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania Colonel General C. Olteanu, the Minister of Defence of the USSR Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, the Minister of National Defence of Czechoslovakia, and also the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member States Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov.

IMPORTANCE OF PRAGUE PROPOSALS ASSESSED

LD112206 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Nikolay Shishlin commentary]

[Text] Today it can definitely be claimed that the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states has intensified the dialogue between East and West. I would like to note in this connection that this dialogue has not been interrupted, and today it has in fact been intensified. The main point is that now there is an object for discussion, there is an object for talks.

This applies in the first place to the interrelation between socialist and capitalist countries. Essentially Prague's message is an appeal for a return to the path of peaceful coexistence. Prague's message is an appeal for recognition of the process of detente, a second wind, the deepening of this process and the achievement, within the framework of developing detente, of specific practical results which will meet the interests of all peoples and the interests of international security as a whole.

In this connection, it does not seem fortuitous that attention -- and it needs to be said, favorable attention -- is being paid to the proposal by the member-states of the Warsaw Pact to conclude a treaty on the nonuse of force and on maintaining relations of peace between the member-countries of the Warsaw Pact and the members of the North Atlantic bloc.

The support of the socialist countries for the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at breaking the deadlock over the problem of the limitation and curtailment of the arms race is of exceptional importance.

To the same extent, what has been said about the significance of Prague also applies to those ideas which are being put forward on stepping up political and economic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, and also on extensive spiritual links which undoubtedly contribute to enriching national cultures and to warming up the world political climate as such.

Today we can say that Prague yielded results from the point of view of the work of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and, more than that, Prague yielded results in influencing the international situation. And I would like to hope that Prague has given the green light for the adoption of major, important decisions which will promote the smoothing-out of international relations and the improvement of the world political climate.

PRAVDA REVIEWS PRAGUE STATEMENT, OTHER ISSUES

PM111235 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 83 Second Edition p 4

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review"]

[Text] Momentous Statement

"There is now no more important task for the peoples than preserving peace and ending the arms race. It is the duty of all governments and all statesmen who determine their countries' policies to resolve it" -- this impassioned appeal made by the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee conference held in Prague 4-5 January has spread all over the world.

The torrent of responses from all ends of the planet to the Political Declaration adopted by the conference attests that the meeting in the Czechoslovak capital was the most important foreign policy event in the first weeks of the New Year.

What, then, accounts for the international response to the Political Declaration? It is above all the fact that it has been adopted at an exceptionally crucial period in the international situation. Events in the world are assuming an increasingly alarming nature. The threat of war, primarily nuclear war, is increasing.

Can mankind's slide into the abyss of war be halted? The Political Declaration's lasting significance lies in the fact that it gives the peoples a clear answer to this question. However complex the situation on the planet, real possibilities exist for changing it and averting the impending threat. It is particularly important that the international position of the socialist community -- the chief mainstay of peace on earth -- remains strong and reliable. Its peace-loving policy is supported by the overwhelming majority of mankind. And this means that the present dangerous course of events must and can be halted.

The Warsaw Pact countries counter the imperialist policy of war and aggression with their own alternative -- lasting peace.

"We have enough good will and determination," Comrade Yu. V. Andropov said in reply to RUDE PRAVO's questions, "to move step by step toward strengthening European security and improving the world political atmosphere. Enough strength to counter-vail imperialism's military threat."

The socialist countries' new peace initiative - the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact states and the North Atlantic Treaty states, open for all other states -- is of paramount significance.

The reaction of official circles in the West to the socialist countries' new peace initiatives is remarkable. At first some people tried to belittle the significance of the socialist countries' proposals by employing the NATO-ites' traditional assertion that "there is nothing new" in them.

An overtly hostile statement was issued by the press department of the NATO bloc headquarters in Brussels: "We do not consider it advisable to reply to a Warsaw Pact proposal which is totally superfluous."

However, the socialist countries' proposals have made such a strong impression on the peoples that Western politicians have had urgently to change tack. They had to change their tone. One after another the governments of Western countries, albeit with reservations of various kinds, began to declare that the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals will be "carefully studied."

Even the NATO Political Committee had to make a similar statement. Of course, the most reactionary figures and publications are continuing to mount a fierce attack on the provisions of the Political Declaration. Springer's DIE WELT, for example, alleges that the proposal to conclude a treaty on the mutual nonuse of force is a "trap" for the West. But still it is not these statements overtly hostile to the cause of peace that are characteristic of the sentiments prevailing in Western countries today.

In the response of the world public and the press this refrain can be heard increasingly clearly: The socialist countries' proposals cannot simply be brushed aside for there is no reason to reject them. The West German newspaper WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE reasonably remarks: "In the year of the possible deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles it would be wrong to pretend that nothing has happened and at the same time refer to the supposedly propagandist nature of the proposals advanced by the Prague conference participants. On the very eve of the Prague meeting the East took important practical steps with a view to ensuring peace -- in the form of the Soviet proposal addressed to the Geneva talks on questions of disarmament."

The Warsaw Pact countries have made a major new contribution to the cause of normalizing the international situation and taken one more significant step toward the NATO states. Now the West must reply to the socialist countries' constructive initiatives.

"It now depends on the United States and its NATO allies," the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers document states, "whether the possibility of preventing the buildup of nuclear missile weapons in Europe is realized and whether the threat hanging over the continent's peoples, as well as the world as a whole, diminishes or, on the contrary, increases sharply."

As for the Soviet Union, it is doing everything in its power to ensure the triumph of reason in international affairs.

The active support from world public opinion for the Warsaw Pact states' initiatives shows that the peoples understand that the peaceful proposals advanced by these states open up favorable new possibilities in the cause of resolving a task of vital concern to all mankind. These possibilities must be utilized in full and without delay.

To Be Guided by Reason

The impact of the socialist states' peace initiatives and the desire of the peoples, including the U.S. people, for peace are such that it is becoming increasingly hard for U.S. statesmen to reject them "out of hand." When the U.S. President was asked at a press conference in Washington about his attitude to the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal, he replied: "I believe that it will certainly be considered if it is precisely a treaty on the mutual nonuse of military force that is being proposed. This proposal has only just been made, and I believe that it is something that will require consultation with all our NATO allies." The future will show what really lies behind these words.

For the time being, unfortunately, U.S. policy remains as before. The well-known American political commentator J. Reston writes: "Even at Christmas Washington politicians were not speaking about peace, still less about good will, but about conflicts between states, missiles, death and taxes." Indeed, the American Administration is concentrating all its efforts not on the search for sensible, mutually acceptable agreements but on fueling war hysteria. If new confirmation of this were needed, it would be the Washington administration's action last week.

The White House announced the setting up of the so-called U.S. "strategic forces commission," which is to draw up recommendations concerning the optimum means of basing the new MX missiles, which are first-strike weapons. As is known, the administration's demand for $988 million to be allocated to the production and deployment of the first five of these missiles has come up against both stormy protests throughout the country and the disagreement of Congress, which has "frozen" these appropriations. The setting up of the aforesaid commission is a tactical move by the administration, which is trying to bypass the obstacle which has come to light.

The commission also intends to examine the overall state of the American nuclear forces and prepare its recommendations on enhancing their effectiveness. It is already possible to imagine what direction the commission's recommendations might take by looking at its composition. B. Scowcroft, former assistant to the U.S. President for national security affairs, who is well known for his militarist views, has been appointed commission chairman; T. Reed, former secretary of the U.S. Air Force and now special assistant to the President for national security affairs, is his deputy. The commission also includes former Secretary of State A. Haig, former CIA Director R. Helms and others.

The 98th U.S. Congress, elected last November began its work last week. One of the main issues to be considered by it is the draft state budget for fiscal 1984. Although the White House has not yet finally drawn up the draft, the overall trend, by all accounts, is obvious:

A further growth in military spending, which, according to press reports, could exceed $2190 billion, and also a new cut in spending on social needs by approximately $30 billion.

A sharp debate has already gotten under way over the new draft budget on Capitol Hill. The arms race imposed on the country has given risen to a monstrous deficit in the federal budget, which could reach $200 billion in fiscal 1984. Even many Republicans are proposing cutting the unprecedented military appropriations. But, as spokesmen for the White House state, its master is "still adamant."

And this despite the fact that the arms race is crippling the U.S. economy and lying as an increasingly intolerable burden on American working people.

Voices pointing to the groundlessness of the administration's allegations about the so-called U.S. lag behind the USSR in the arms sphere are also growing stronger in the United States. The latest issue of the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT cities, for example, statements by former U.S. Defense Secretaries H. Brown and J. Schlesinger. "The United States possesses adequate military strength in relation to the Soviet Union," H. Brown declared. "Approximate parity still exists between the United States and the Soviet Union in the sphere of strategic nuclear arms." And here is J. Schlesinger's opinion: "To maintain that people everywhere are gaining the upper hand over the United States is to distort the real state of affairs."

But it is to precisely such distortions that the American ruling circles resort, endeavoring at all costs to deceive the peoples of the United States and other countries. However, such efforts are achieving their purpose less and less. Realistically-minded circles both in West Europe and in the United States itself are increasingly insistently demanding that they should embark on the only correct path proposed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries -- the path of honest, sincere talks. The senior American Diplomat A. Harriman wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES this week: "Talks -- earnest talks -- are what both countries need: And, let us add, what all mankind needs.

Another Adventure?

New reports are being received of continuing incursions by Somozaist gangs into the Republic of Nicaragua from Honduran territory. Fighting is constantly flaring up in a number of Nicaragua's northern provinces between the Sandinist People's Army and large detachments of mercenaries trained and armed by the CIA and the Pentagon. The Nicaraguan patriots are dealing them a worthy rebuff, throwing the raiders out of their country.

American newspapers write that the CIA is using neighboring Honduras as a base for its biggest secret operation since the Vietnam war. The "operation," as is normal in Washington, is screened by abundant hypocrisy. Officially the administration maintains that the United States advocates holding talks with Nicaragua on region problems. At the end of last year the American Congress, alarmed by reports that the United States is clearly being dragged into a new adventure, adopted a resolution prohibiting the U.S. Administration from supporting actions aimed at overthrowing the Nicaraguan Government. In fact, all these statements and "prohibitions" are nothing more than a screen. A Capitol Hill representative frankly declared that the formulas of the aforementioned Congressional resolution are tantamount to "hanging a straw scarecrow": In fact, they give the CIA unlimited rights.

During his tour of four countries in South and Central America at the end of 1982 the U.S. President, as newspapers reported, "stubbornly insisted on his formula for isolating Cuba and Nicaragua." In practice this "formula" means rejecting all the proposals aimed at normalizing the situation in the region which the Government of Nicaragua has repeatedly proposed discussing. Here, too, Washington chooses the path of confrontation instead of talks.

U.S. military aid to Honduras totaled $5.5 million in 1981 and $30.6 million in 1982. Mercenary gangs are continuing to be trained at 17 bases operating on Honduran territory, as well as at American military bases in Panama and in the United States itself. "The Americans soon crossed," NEWSWEEK magazine points out, "the fine line between training mercenaries and participating in implementing the plans for which they are training them." The American press defines the number of these mercenaries as between 5,000 and 12,000 or even more men. The bandits are being trained by hundreds of CIA instructors. In addition, the Pentagon has its own advisers in Honduras. These "instructors" and "advisers" are training killers who openly state: If we succeed in getting into Nicaragua, "the entire territory from the border to Managua will be strewn with corpses."

"The operations in Honduras," THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, "are being run by John Negroponte, the U.S. ambassador in that country, who closely coordinates his actions with leading intelligence figures in Washington and, in particular, with CIA Director Casey. The latter has visited Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, to analyze this activity."

Washington likes to expatiate on "international terrorism," ascribing responsibility for it to...the socialist countries. However, it is precisely the American Administration's actions against Nicaragua that irrefutably confirm once again who, in actual fact, is directing international terrorism.

Only the inspirers of this policy would be well advised to remember that in our time only shameful failure can be the inevitable outcome of such adventures.

U.S. POLICY TOWARD NONALIGNED MOVEMENT ASSESSED

Pressure on Latin America

PY111817 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish to Latin America 0130 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] The United States is exerting pressure on Latin American nations on the eve of the meeting of the Nonaligned Movement Coordination Bureau which will be held in Nicaragua.

It is known from diplomatic sources in Latin American capitals that U.S. ambassadors have submitted to local foreign ministries a memorandum divided into five chapters: El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba and Grenada. It is obvious that the United States needs to justify its policy regarding these nations in order to slander the USSR and to demand support from Latin American countries.

In other words, Washington's objective is to turn the Coordination Bureau meeting into a trial of those sovereign Latin American nations whose only fault is to have repudiated the U.S. socioeconomic policies, or to have put an end to the arrogance of multinational companies.

Moreover, the other objective of this U.S. memorandum is to divert attention from the real and critical problems affecting developing and industrialist capitalist countries and to reduce everything to the well-known myth of subversive activities and international terrorism.

However, this memorandum does not make any reference to trade problems, price cuts, one-sided loans and other cunning maneuvers used by multinational companies to obtain maximum profits from nonaligned countries, which also include Latin American countries.

For example, because of an unfair trade balance, Latin American nations lose over $2 billion per year. Moreover, if U.S. protectionist tariffs and other restrictions to Latin American exports are considered, this loss would total $5 billion.

But the structure of foreign capital investments is another issue that is avoided by Washington at international forums. This is because U.S. and foreign bankers and monopolies strive to invest in nonproductive economic sectors. This tactic obviously condemns developing countries to technological backwardness and dependency on industrial countries.

At present, in addition to the traditional differences between developing and developed Western countries, there are other new differences that the U.S. Government would rather not discuss at the Managua conference. These problems are caused by the fact that Western countries are putting the burden of the crisis affecting capitalist countries on the shoulders of their weaker partners.

Developing countries have never before been so much exploited or experienced such economic stagnation and poverty: 570 million adults do not know how to read or write; 1.5 billion lack medical assistance; 250 million children cannot attend school; over 1 billion are unemployed.

At the same time, the profits of multinational companies operating in developing countries have increased by $102 billion in the last 10 years. During this period, these monopolies have obtained an average net profit of $2.4 per dollar invested.

The United States, which invested $8.7 billion in the economies of developing countries in the seventies, has earned $39 billion in profits, that is, $4.5 per dollar invested.

The simple study of these facts is a perfect answer to the question why the United States is exerting pressure on Latin American countries on the eve of the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement.

Attempt To Sabotage Managua Meeting

LD121106 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Managua January 12 TASS -- The United States was trying to sabotage the work of the current emergency meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of nonaligned countries, Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto told newsmen here on Tuesday.

The Reagan administration, he noted, had threatened several delegations with a possible revision of its relations with the countries they represented depending on the stand they took at the forum of the nonaligned countries in Managua. Miguel d'Escoto said that the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua who had made a call on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the country had expressed concern of the U.S. State Department over the draft final communique of the session. According to Miguel d'Escoto, President Reagan had described the communique as a document which failed to correspond with the principles of the Nonaligned Movement.

The Nicaraguan foreign minister said the United States was not in a position to pass judgements on the principles of the Nonaligned Movement. He recalled in this connection that the United States did not even have its observers in the Nonaligned Movement.

PRAVDA ARTICLE REJECTS REAGAN'S RADIO REMARKS

LD111838 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- Follows the editorial article "Concerning the U.S. President's Radio Address" published in the January 12 issue of PRAVDA.

President Ronald Reagan of the United States made a new radio address recently. Having dwelt on many aspects of international life the head of the White House expressed, in particular, a number of reasonable views on the question of Soviet-American relations which he described as "one of the most important aspects of America's role in the world". He also expressed hope that "the future will bring improvement in our relations with the Soviets and an era of genuine stability", stressing that the United States does not "insist that the Soviet Union abandon its standing as a super power or its legitimate national interests".

No denying it, these are reasonable views. Were American policy based on such concepts it would be possible to speak with confidence about positive prospects of talks between the USSR and the United States on any level. But the hitch is exactly that almost all the statements and practical deeds of the American Administration are far from these reasonable thoughts. On uttering the above-quoted correct words the President, as usual, immediately held the Soviet Union responsible for the worsening of Soviet-American relations.

Contrary to facts, he tried to assert that the United States allegedly displayed "restraint" in the 1970's, while the Soviet Union acted differently. It turns out that by aggravating international tension, stepping up the course of confrontation, escalating the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, the United States exercises, as the President said, its right "to defend the interest of freedom". But when the USSR displays concern for its security and the security of the states that are members of the socialist community, this, according to the United States, is a "Soviet military threat". Strange logic.

The head of the White House also said that the United States and its partners "await any serious actions and proposals the Soviets may offer and stand ready to discuss with them serious proposals that can genuinely advance the cause of peace". But the President knows that at the time when unprecedented plans of the militarisation of the USA are being launched, and American policy goes round and round the notorious "zero option", the Soviet Union put forward a realistic programme of concrete measures that lead to an ending of the arms race, above all the nuclear arms race, to relaxation of international tension, to ensuring the security of all peoples. What is required of the U.S. Administration is only to give instructions to the American representatives, including those conducting negotiations in Geneva, to seriously discuss the USSR's proposals and to search for an accord jointly with the Soviet side.

A constructive approach on the part of the USA will remove the obstacles that block these talks. It is not the Soviet negative tactics the President spoke about that impedes the talks. One should rather talk about the American obstructionist position at the talks in Geneva. This will correspond to the real state of affairs.

In his address the U.S. President repeated accusations concerning the USSR in connection with events in Afghanistan. The Soviet side has already more than once given an exhaustive answer on this account. It can only be repeated that the way to normalisation of the situation in Afghanistan is open. However, by supporting gangs of interventionists, supplying them with modern types of weapons, it is Washington that is doing everything for bloodshed to continue in that country.

Concerning the Middle East, the head of the White House expressed the wish that the USSR should show "moderation" in the area. It is not to us that these calls should be addressed. It is common knowledge who it is that bears the responsibility for the aggression and genocide in Lebanon. Israel, the United States' accomplice, not only staged an act of aggression in Lebanon, but continues brigandage now. Did not the Israeli military act and does not it act now with Washington's full blessing and is it not armed with U.S. weapons? Has not the U.S. policy, including the Camp David collusion, brought the problem of the Middle-East settlement into an impasse?

In his address the President did not keep from pronouncements about Poland. As always, he tried to cast aspersion on the policy of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. It is high time those in Washington understood that diktat should not be imposed on sovereign states, the way the U.S. Administration attempts to do it with regard to Poland and its people. It is the Polish Government alone that is empowered to decide Poland's affairs and it has no need of advice in this.

Ronald Reagan expressed the United States' readiness to discuss with the USSR practical measures which can help solve problems and lead to a more stable and genuine improvement of East-West relations. If this is really so, the pronouncement of the United States President can only be welcomed. The USSR holds that the road for Soviet-American talks is open and that our two countries could make an important contribution to removing the threat of nuclear war, to creating in the world a climate of mutual trust, mutual understanding, and cooperation. In their political declaration the Warsaw Treaty member-states have just recently set out their collective stand on the main international problems, including the question of the improvement of Soviet-American relations. The proposals of the countries of the socialist community, if treated objectively, in an unbiased way, can serve as a basis for constructive talks.

TASS REPORTS REAGAN BAN ON PRESS MEETINGS

LD111554 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1116 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Washington, 11 Jan (TASS) -- President R. Reagan has issued a special order which states that employees at a number of key departments are from now on banned from meeting with press representatives without the prior approval of officials empowered by the President to grant this.

D. Gergen, assistant to the President on press relations, has openly threatened "punitive sanctions" against those who infringe upon this order from the head of the administration.

Formally, this measure is aimed at "preventing confidential information from being made public," which would be highly undesirable for the administration. However, secret information is not at all the point at issue here. It is well known that the White House has regularly sanctioned the leak of information in order to justify its actions, in particular its programs of mass military preparations.

On this occasion the head of the White House is worried by something completely different. Information has begun to leak into the press that in the budget being prepared for the 1984 fiscal year Reagan is intending to increase further military appropriations at a cost of further reducing expenditure for social and economic purposes by $30 billion.

At the same time it would appear that doubts about the expediency of a policy, which in the 2 years that Reagan has been in power has brought the United States into the deepest recession since the "Great Depression" and which threatens even more catastrophic consequences, are being voiced with increasing clarity in the circles of the administration itself. THE WASHINGTON POST writes that bitter clashes are taking place both within the administration and within the ranks of the ruling Republican Party.

According to J. (Landon), chairman of the reporters' committee for the freedom of the press, the restriction on contacts between representatives of the White House and the journalists that have been announced by the White House cannot be viewed as anything other than blatant censorship.

REAGAN DALLAS ADDRESS TO FARMERS NOTED

LD112032 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS -- American farmers are now living through critical times. This was admitted by President of the United States Ronald Reagan who spoke today in Dallas, Texas, at an annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation. He noted that American farmers are being hit by economic recession, the fall of the demand for farm produce of the United States and foreign competition.

Reagan admitted the extremely negative effect on the situation of farmers of the "embargo" on the sale of U.S. grain to the Soviet Union. That embargo was introduced by the previous administration and had flopped.

TASS: PENTAGON BUDGET CUTS 'PROPAGANDA PLOY'

LD121012 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Washington January 12 TASS -- TASS correspondent Vladislav Legantsov reports: The U.S. Defence Department has resorted to another propaganda ploy. In a bid to put down the wave of public protests in the United States against the Reagan administration's policy of sending military spending through the roof while sharply slashing appropriations for social needs, U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger announced with great pomp Tuesday a decision to trim the Pentagon's budget for the 1984 fiscal year by eight billion dollars.

This "economy" is a drop in the ocean of U.S. colossal military expenses. In the 1984 fiscal year the Pentagon is going to spend 284.7 billion dollars. Even Caspar Weinberger himself conceded that the much publicised "revision" of the Pentagon's budget had been undertaken mainly in connection with reductions in the wholesale prices of fuel and a somewhat slower growth of inflation.

The reduction proposed by the defense secretary signifies no change at all in the administration's policy of stepping up the arms race and war preparations. It will not affect funds appropriated to fulfil the U.S. Armed Forces' military upgrading program, which will require an estimated two trillion or so dollars to implement in the next five years, to conduct a large-scale build-up of strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range nuclear missiles and to develop conventional arms. According to U.S. press reports, outlays for developing, producing and deploying nuclear weapons are planned to reach up to 30 billion dollars. More than six billion dollars are planned to be earmarked to manufacture B-1 strategic bombers. About 1.5 billion dollars are planned to be put aside to develop Trident-2 intercontinental ballistic missiles for nuclear-powered submarines.

The U.S. Air Force will receive 22 billion dollars to acquire new warplanes. The U.S. Navy is going to spend for the same purpose 11.3 billion dollars. The Reagan administration has not given up hopes to get congressional approval of the funds needed to deploy the new MX intercontinental strategic nuclear missile system.

Caspar Weinberger announced the reduction of the Pentagon's budget with purely propaganda aims in mind. It was not by chance that the defense secretary retained the right "in the event of necessity" to demand again from Congress additional allocations for military purposes in the same 1984 fiscal year.

TASS ANALYST CRITICIZES U.S. ARMS SALES POLICY

LD112136 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Robert Serebrennikov writes:

The sale of arms is the only "flourishing" business in conditions of the general economic recession in the West: 65,000 million dollars' worth of arms is now sold in the world every year. These figures, released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, testify to escalation of the "death business" in the capitalist world.

The Reagan administration feverishly escalates the arms race. One of the factors of that global policy is speeded-up sales of conventional arms, bound to assist the build-up of military preparations, to whip up tension.

President Reagan, by signing the directive on the U.S. policy in the sphere of arms deliveries to foreign states, actually lifted restrictions on the sales of American armaments.

The U.S. is now the world's biggest "death merchant": Its share in the world trade in arms now amounts to about 50 per cent. Americans arms deliveries in 1982 supposedly reached 30,000 million dollars.

Weapons, labelled "made in USA", are broadly supplied primarily to "allies" and "friends". The main stream of American weapons flows to the explosive region of the Middle and Near East. Its lion's share goes to Israel which conducts with impunity the policy of imperialist brigandage and territorial seizures.

Among other constant "clients" of the United States are the fascists juntas in Chile, Guatemala and Honduras, racists of the Republic of South Africa, the South Korean clique, Taiwan. American arms are generously supplied to Pakistan, the territory of which is used for conducting "undeclared war" against Afghanistan. Weapons are also sent to various terroristic, anti-people's gangs, acting against legitimate governments specifically against People's Angola.

The Soviet Union has always considered solution of the question of limitation of arms deliveries to Third World countries as one of the directions of the struggle for curbing the arms race. In the Soviet Union's opinion, the problem of sales of arms should be resolved in the interests of consolidation of international peace, security and detente. But the United States continues blocking up negotiations on this important issue.

In the memorandum "Ward off Growing Nuclear Threat, Stop the Arms Race", which was submitted to the U.N. General Assembly's second special session on disarmament, the USSR expressed readiness to resume Soviet-American negotiations on restriction of sales and deliveries of conventional armaments. The negotiations are known to have been interrupted in December 1975 by the American side.

The expediency of resumption of negotiations on limitation of sales and deliveries of conventional armaments is noted in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which was approved in Prague a few days ago. It is the United States which should have its say now. It should display political will and readiness for cooperation.

ZAGLADIN HOLDS TALKS WITH U.S. CONGRESSMEN IN MOSCOW

LD111814 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Vadim Zagladin had in Moscow today a conversation with a group of U.S. congressmen, led by member of the House Foreign Affairs, Government Operations Committees, and member of the House Select Committee on Aging.

There were discussed topical international problems of mutual interest, and also questions of Soviet-American relations.

The Soviet side emphasised the significance of the address of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee "to the parl aments, governments, political parties and the peoples of the world", the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which was adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague. It was noted that the Soviet Union's latest initiatives aimed at putting an end to the arms race, improving Soviet-American relations, which were put forward by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yuriy Andropov, reflect the sincere striving of all Soviet people for consolidation of peace and international cooperation.

Both sides agreed that the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only acceptable basis for the development of the relations between the USSR and the USA in our nuclear age.

CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE ON SOVIET ECONOMY CITED

LD111804 Moscow World Service in English 1700 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] The Soviet economy is developing at pace, drawing upon vast natural resources and a perfectly trained workforce. The ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency reports this is the main conclusion drawn by the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress at a recent debate. The committee was debating a CIA report that contains allegations characteristic of that agency -- namely, the Soviet economy is supposedly facing difficulties, is in a state of crisis and so on.

About the report, Senator William Proxmire said it will be a heavy mistake to underestimate the economic potential of the Soviet Union, which is the most self-sufficient power in the world. Congressmen Henry Ruess noted that despite the countless CIA allegations, the Soviet Union is now on the brink of steady economic growth. From 1960 to 1980 the Soviet Union's gross national product quadrupled, which averages 4.7 percent a year. An ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent remarks the committee debate serves as a warning to the Reagan administration, which has much to say about the Soviet Union's economic difficulties and about trade sanctions that can supposedly fuel them.

COMMENTARY LINKS CIA TO ATTEMPT ON POPE'S LIFE

LD111734 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Yuriy Soltan commentary]

[Text] Within 8 miles of the American capital, in Langley, away from the main road hidden in the forest is one of the most secret organizations of the United States, the Central Intelligence Agency -- the headquarters of spies and hired assassins. Yes, assassins too. The physical elimination of foreign politicians and statesmen on whom the sinister choice of Washington has fallen upon is one of the duties of the CIA.

Among those who died at the hands of agents of this center of espionage and subversion were the political figure of Africa, Patrice Lumumba; Chile's President Salvador Allende; the prime minister of Ceylon, Solomon Bandaranaike; and the Congolese president, Marien Ngouabi. The death in an air accident of Panama's leader Omar Torrijos was also arranged by CIA men. The center in Langley had prepared plans to murder the prime minister of India, Indira Gandhi. On CIA orders assassins hunted for Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders. This tragic list could be prolonged.

Yet the murder of foreign politicians Washington happens to dislike is only one side of the CIA criminal record. Acts of terror are also organized to destabilize the situation in foreign countries, to discredit democratic groups, to clear the road to power for reactionary elements, and for all these purposes the CIA sets up and widely uses terrorist organizations.

Naturally, the CIA thoroughly conceals its contacts with terrorists. Yet there is no secret which some day doesn't become an open secret.

The CIA sends instructions, money, arms and advisers to the bandits operating in Afghanistan and to the UNITA subversive organization in Angola. Special centers in the United States train mercenaries for terrorist actions in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Grenada. The CIA supervised the Condor operation, a series of political murders in countries of Central and South America. There's authoritative evidence that the CIA has taken under its protection the clandestine Black International, an international organization of terrorists in West Europe.

According to the GIORNI VIE NUOVE weekly there are about 6,000 CIA agents in Italy alone. The CIA is the organization many in Italy hold responsible for a number of political deaths, and among them was the head of the national oil concern, Mattei, who had dared to challenge the powerful oil corporations of the United States, and the leader of the Christian Democratic Party, Aldo Moro, who despite pressure from overseas had tried to pursue a course for a dialogue with the Communist Party.

It is now possible to trace links between the CIA and the attempt in May, 1981, on the life of Pope John Paul II. The assassin Ali Agca, failed to carry out the assignment to the end. Yet, the very fact of the assassination attempt is now used by the CIA in mounting a slanderous campaign against Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Now, who sanctions all these crimes? The CIA enjoys in the United States a special position of a state within a state. Naturally, the White House is absolutely in the know of all its actions and directly, the CIA is subordinated to the National Security Council under the President of the United States.

SWEDISH PREMIER REPORTEDLY UNDER CIA SURVEILLANCE

LD112348 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] According to reports from Stockholm it has been discovered there that for several years an agent of the American CIA has been keeping an eye on Prime Minister Olof Palme. Here is a commentary from Viktor Olin, and this is what he writes:

The CIA placed Olof Palme under surveillance back in the sixties when he became an influential member of the Social Democratic government. According to all the indications the CIA was alarmed by Mr Palme's outspoken criticism of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The surveillance of Olof Palme was part of a broader intelligence-gathering scheme. According to the Swedish newspaper EXPRESSEN the agent who followed Mr Palme's moves was his former fellow student at an American college. When he arrived in Sweden later with an assignment from the CIA he renewed his relations with an old collegemate.

It was Mr Palme himself who discovered that he was being surveilled. The exposure of its agent might have prevented the agency from taking more drastic action against Mr Palme who continued to acquire political influence. It is a small episode of the crushing defeat suffered by the American espionage network, to the entire U.S. war machine in Indochina. This entailed numerous scandals and the exposure of the unseemly part played by the CIA in international affairs. Nevertheless, the CIA's activity continued on an ever-increasing scale under the Reagan administration.

Speaking recently in the CIA headquarters at Langley, the President said the secret service was a powerful weapon in the crusade for freedom. According to former State Secretary Henry Kissinger the new doctrine adopted in Washington provides for a limited interference in the affairs of other nations, friendly or unfriendly alike, including those that pose no threat at all to U.S. security, for the purpose of effecting internal changes in them. The signs are that dozens of CIA agents operate in Sweden in the guise of diplomats, businessmen, newsmen and scientists, or just old collegemates. There job is to recruit agents, gather intelligence and carry out operations aimed at involving neutral countries into American and NATO war preparations in the north of Europe.

TASS ANALYST VIEWS NAKASONE VISIT TO SEOUL

LD111442 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 11 Jan 83

["Japanese Props for Seoul Dictatorship" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov.

Seoul is pleased: Political dialogue with Tokyo has been resumed after a lengthy period of disagreement. The head of the Japanese Government, Yasuhiro Nakasone, has arrived in South Korea for an official visit -- an unprecedented event in the relationship between Tokyo and Seoul. And, what is important, he arrived there not empty-handed, but with long-awaited "gifts." Despite its own difficulties, Tokyo is prepared to grant the South Korean regime large loans for a total sum of four billion dollars "to promote stablisation of the situation in that country". Tokyo is also ready to approve officially "South Korea's defence efforts," that is, military preparations, and to stress "the need to develop friendship and cooperation" with the Seoul regime.

Observers, looking for the causes of the Japanese premier's "surprise" visit to Seoul, link it with Nakasone's forthcoming trip to the United States, a far more important event for the Japanese ruling circles. The Japanese newspaper NIHON KEIZAI, for instance, directly indicates that Nakasone undertook his trip to Seoul in order to "prepare groundwork for a successful holding of Japanese-American summit talks."

Washington, backing dictatorial regimes world-wide, has since long pressed Tokyo to give active support for this policy, specifically, with regard to South Korea. Japan's financial aid to Seoul, which spends a considerable part of its budget for military purposes, will be a substantial injection for the dictatorial regime. It compensates to a certain degree for Washington's own expenses connected with the granting of military aid to South Korea.

Besides, Washington regards close economic and military cooperation between Tokyo and Seoul as an integral element in the U.S. strategy in the western Pacific. Satisfaction of the American demands, according to Tokyo officials, will help ease the pressure to be put on Nakasone in Washington during the discussion of the acute problems of Japanese-American relations.

The Japanese public responded to the Japanese premier's visit to South Korea with alarm and indignation. The Japanese newspaper ASAHI regards the attempts "to strengthen solidarity" between Tokyo, Seoul and Washington as threatening with Japan's further involvement in the American strategy of confrontation and with the emergence of new factors of instability in the region. Opposition parties, in their protest to the government, characterised Nakasone's trip as "support for the anti-people Chon Tu-hwan regime, which violates human rights in its country."

ANTI-U.S. DEMONSTRATIONS IN AFGHANISTAN ASSESSED

PM111627 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jan 83 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent G. Ustinov: "The Revolution Cannot Be Broken!"]

[Text] Kabul -- In the life of every country there are moments when its people rally in a powerful and united impulse and stand before the whole world as a monolithic organism. That is how revolutionary Afghanistan looks today. The people of sunny Qandahar, snow-covered Meymaneh, ancient Herat and youthful Hayratan, industrial Mazar-i Sharif and Jalalabad, rich in orchards, laying aside their affairs, came out into the streets and squares to express their profound anger at the U.S. Administration's gross interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign and free DRA. A powerful wave of marches and protest meetings and unprecedently mass-supported demonstrations of the solidarity and unity of the people and their militant vanguard, the PDPA, swept across the entire country, from Kabul to the most remote provinces.

As is well known, on New Year's Eve U.S. President Ronald Reagan made a statement in which he announced, without beating around the bush, that the United States intends to expand its undeclared war against the DRA. The United States thus intends to continue to step up its support and aid to the gangs of mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries and to do everything to overthrow the country's lawful government and reverse the revolutionary development of events in that country. Washington is extolling in every way the cutthroats trained by CIA instructors and armed by the United States penetrating the DRA from Pakistan along the secret mountain paths of the Hindu Kush to sow death, famine and destruction.

This cynicism, this political shamelessness have shaken every honest worker in the fraternal country to the depths of his soul. The Afghan land is seething with indignation and anger. Not a day passes without Afghan radio, television and newspapers describing hundreds of mass protest demonstrations in which workers and peasants, representatives of the clergy and the people's intelligentsia, merchants and artisans, state employees and Afghan Army servicemen are taking part. "Hands off revolutionary and independent Afghanistan!"; "Long live the April Revolution"; "Down with U.S. imperialism!"; "We shall win!"; "Long live the PDPA and the revolutionary Government of Afghanistan!" -- these are the slogans with which many public buildings are covered today both in major cities and in regional centers. The Presidium of the republic's Revolutionary Council, the PDPA Central Committee, the National Fatherland Front and the DRA Government are receiving thousands of resolutions from meetings and gatherings of working people speaking of their determination to pit the people's united and invincible will against U.S. imperialism's direct interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

Kabul with its million-strong population is seething with indignation. Over 150,000 Kabul inhabitants, joining hands, marched in wide rows from (Pushtunistan) square to the U.S. Embassy to pillory U.S. imperialism's interference in the life and struggle of revolutionary Afghanistan and to stress that the country's courageous and peace-loving people will never, under any threats, turn from the path they have chosen.

The innumerable columns of people were well aware what they were defending and against whom they were acting. Workers from Kabul enterprises to whom the revolution has given work and bread were marching here.

These people's faces expressed not only anger and indignation but also stern concern. Not surprising: Every Kabul inhabitant, every Afghan is well aware of what the undeclared war which the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings are waging against the DRA has meant for the country.

There are Kabul power workers marching in the column. They have come here after a sleepless night. The day before the counterrevolutionaries, deciding to leave the capital without light, heat or water, perpetrated a new act of subversion -- they blew up several main power line supports and the supply of power to the city had to be rapidly restored.

And here is another familiar face -- (Habiba Kokhzade), foreman at the Kabul bakery's confectionery shop. Just a week ago she was telling me how impatiently she was awaiting her husband's return from his prescribed period of army service. And yesterday she had received a letter from him saying that because of the tense situation in the mountains where the dushmans are hiding, his company's entire personnel had decided to stay to serve another year. "I and my two children were very upset at first, of course, but surely it is clear how necessary to the republic any aid from each one of us is at this time!"

In their speeches at a meeting held at the end of the protest march, representatives of the capital's public most resolutely stated that despite the armed interference and propaganda campaign by the United States and its accomplices against the DRA, the Afghan working people will march firmly forward along the path they have chosen and build a new life in their motherland. The entire republic is adding its voice to theirs: Let Washington know that the Afghan people will never succumb to imperialism's pressure and will struggle to a victorious finish for their bright future.

SOVIET GREETINGS ON KAMPUCHEAN NATIONAL DAY

PM111545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 83 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] State Council:

And to Comrade Chan Si, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers:

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers extend to you, dear comrades, the KPRP Central Committee, the PRK State Council, the PRK Council of Ministers and the entire fraternal Kampuchean people cordial congratulations on the occasion of the PRK's national day.

In the four years which have elapsed since the patriotic revolutionary forces' victory over the antipeople Pol Pot clique, the Kampuchean people under the leadership of their vanguard -- the People's Revolutionary Party -- have recorded considerable achievements in eradicating the grim legacy of the past and restoring and developing the national economy and every sphere of sociopolitical and cultural life. Kampuchea's working people are waging a persistent struggle to implement the decisions of the fourth KPRP Congress, which outlined ways of building the foundations of a socialist society on Kampuchea's ancient soil.

The PRK is making its contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and international security, actively supports the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, and in close unity with the SRV and the LPDR consistently advocates normalizing the situation in Southeast Asia, establishing good neighborly relations between all the states there, and turning the region into a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

The relations of friendship and solidarity between the Soviet Union and the PRK are steadily developing and deepening. Our countries' multifaceted cooperation is an important factor in Kampuchea's social and economic progress and the strengthening of the forces of socialism in Indochina.

On this portentous day we wish the Kampuchean people great achievements in the task of national revival and in building a new and flourishing Kampuchea.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, USSR Council of Ministers.

SRV TRADE UNION HEAD HAILS USSR ACHIEVEMENTS

OW110607 Moscow in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1400 GMT 9 Jan 83

[Text] Dear Friends: Please listen now to a statement by Comrade Nguyen Duc Thuan, member of the VCP Central Committee and chairman of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, to our station correspondent on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR:

[Begin recording] On the occasion of our attending -- upon invitation -- the celebrations marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet state, we wish to convey -- over Moscow Radio -- to the Soviet workers and trade unions our sincere gratitude for their wholehearted, great and efficient assistance to the Vietnamese workers and trade unions. The friendly relations and fraternal cooperation over the past many years between the trade unions of our two countries have been constantly consolidated and developed. They have been further qualitatively upgraded following the signing in early 1982 of the treaty on continued cooperation between the Vietnamese and Soviet trade unions.

That treaty has fully met the aspirations and interests of the workers and trade unions of our two countries and is consistent with the spirit of the Vietnam-USSR Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. The prospects for cooperation between Vietnamese and Soviet trade unions are very bright and expansive. In 1983 our two countries' trade unions will continue to extensively develop their cooperation and will jointly enhance their efficiency and practicality.

We will leave Moscow for home with feelings of encouragement and pride at the wonderful achievements the Soviet Union has registered over the past 60 years and with firm confidence that the fraternal workers and people of the Soviet Union will certainly score many new, greater and more wonderful achievements in building the material-technical bases for communism in the coming years and that the Soviet Union will forever remain the solid bulwark for revolution and the pillar for peace. [end recording]

CORRECTION TO USSR NONRESPONSE TO PRC PLAN

The following corrections to the item entitled "USSR Not Responding to PRC Kampuchea Plan," published in the 7 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, are provided from an alternate printout of the AFP transmission:

Page E 1, second paragraph, line one ...Observers here believe the plan, which Beijing is said to... (clearing queried word "is")

Page E 1, second paragraph, line five ...Beijing, envisage a neutral Cambodia in which "the Cambodians... (changing queried word "new" to "neutral")

POLAND, GDR SUPPORT WARSAW PACT STATEMENT

PZPR Politburo Approval

LD111342 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Warsaw January 11 TASS -- The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) has heard at its meeting reports about the participation of the delegations of the Polish People's Republic in the festivities marking the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and in the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The Soviet Union, says a report about the meeting, concerned to protect mankind from the threat of another war, has with unfailing consistency pursued the Leninist policy of peace. This course has been fully confirmed in the report of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu.V. Andropov, at the celebration meeting in Moscow and in the message from the USSR Supreme Soviet and the CPSU Central Committee to the parliaments, governments, political parties and peoples of the world. The Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee expressed support to the new Soviet peace initiatives and went on record in favour of broad cooperation between the public and political forces fighting for world peace. The Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee stressed the major importance of the meeting between Yu.V. Andropov and W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PPR, to developing Soviet-Polish cooperation. This meeting has made a substantial contribution to strengthening the fraternal ties between the two parties, states and peoples.

The Politbureau of the PUWP Central Committee approved the activity of the PPR delegation at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee. By putting forward the proposal for a treaty on the mutual non-use of military force and the maintenance of the relations of peace between the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the countries of the socialist community have reiterated their resolve consistently to work for peaceful relations among nations, based on the princples of equality and equal security.

GDR Leadership Statement

LD111834 Moscow TASS in English 1815 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Berlin 11/1 TASS -- The GDR news agency ADN reports:

The party and state leadership of the German Democratic Republic has given its unqualified backing to the Political Declaration adopted by the Warsaw Treaty states in Prague on 5 January. In a statement published on Tuesday it says the GDR will make all-out efforts together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries to implement the declaration. The GDR leadership is attaching "extraordinarily great importance" to the proposal that Warsaw Treaty and NATO conclude a treaty on the non-use of military force and the preservation of peaceful relations. Implementation of such a treaty "would not only have a favourable effort on the entire international development, but also essentially contribute to averting the danger of a nuclear war."

"Not to deploy the new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe and at last to negotiate seriously at the Geneva talks on a radical reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe -- this is the resolute demand of the socialist states," the statement says. In accordance with the proposal for a chemical-weapon-free Europe proposed in the Prague Declaration the GDR declares its readiness "together with states interested to set up a chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe."

"The socialist states however, will not allow to unilaterally upset the military parity and, if necessary, take appropriate steps to secure its defence capability," the statement goes on. The GDR will honour all commitments resulting from this. The Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the GDR Government "reaffirm, in line with the Prague Political Declaration, the GDR's constructive work for finding peaceful solutions to international conflicts meeting the legitimate interests of the peoples. The GDR will continue to actively develop its relations with the states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania," it adds.

MOSCOW TV PROFILES CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S GUSTAV HUSAK

LD112258 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 9 January carries a documentary film on Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in connection with Husak's 70th birthday on 10 January, with the camera showing Husak at work at his desk in his office cutting to shots of Dubravka Settlement near Bratislav where he was born, with the narrator speaking about Husak's political career. The camera shows a still photograph of Husak aged 16 when he became a member of the Communist Youth League. As the camera shows a later photograph and clip, the narrator says that Husak joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1933 and then speaks about his work in Slovakia.

As the narrator speaks about Husak's activities during the Slovak uprising and the uprising of the Czechoslovak people in May 1945 the camera provides clips of the period. As the camera shows Husak addressing a meeting, the narrator says that after the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, Husak was elected delegate to the National Assembly. As the narrator speaks about Husak's political work in Slovakia in postwar years the camera shows Husak speaking at the microphone and the audience applauding. The narrator speaks about the victory of the working people of Czechoslovakia in February 1948 while the camera provides shots of Gottwald and Husak. The narrator says that in 1949 Husak was elected member of the CPCZ Central Committee and the camera shows still photographs of Husak.

After mentioning Husak's arrest and detention and his rehabilitation in 1963 the camera shows Husak speaking. As the narrator speaks about Husak and other communists fighting against the serious crisis in the party and in society in 1968, the camera shows Husak meeting Brezhnev. The narrator speaks about the new leadership headed by Husak restoring unity and the party's leading role in society. The camera shows Husak speaking at the 14th CPCZ Congress with the narrator saying that Husak was elected general secretary of the CPCZ and that in 1975 Husak was elected president of the CSSR.

The narrator speaks about the implementation of the party line on the development of the economic, political, social and cultural life with the camera providing a clip on Husak visiting an industrial enterprise, meeting people in a park and at their homes and presenting awards to workers. The narrator describes the growing international prestige of Czechoslovakia while the camera shows Husak on an unspecified visit abroad, cutting to shots of Husak signing children's autographs, followed by shots of Husak casting his vote at a polling station, cutting to shots of Husak visiting an exhibition and attending an agricultural festival and then talking to people at a reception, and then attending various functions as well as watching an anniversary procession. As the narrator speaks about the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance the camera shows Husak and Brezhnev signing the treaty in May 1970, followed by shots of Husak meeting Andropov, then Kadar, Jaruzelski, Honecker, Zhivkov, Ceausescu, Fidel Castro and other foreign leaders including Mengistu and Al-Qadhdhafi, cutting to shots of Husak signing the Helsinki Final Act followed by more shots of Husak meeting foreign leaders including Harold Wilson and Helmut Schmidt.

The camera returns to shots of Husak at his desk in his office, cutting to shots of Husak speaking at the 16th CPCZ Congress, followed by shots of Husak being presented with a bouquet of flowers.

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE ON ANDROPOV-VOGEL MEETING

'Thorough Exchange of Views'

LD111420 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- General secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yuriy Andropov today received Hans-Jochen Vogel, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), federal chancellor candidate from the SPD, currently in the USSR at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. The meeting was attended by: from the Soviet side -- alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Boris Ponomarev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, Assistant of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Andrey Aleksandrov, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Viktor Komplektov and head of a department of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov.

From the West German side -- members of the Presidium of the SPD Presidium Egon Bahr and Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski, as well as the FRG's Ambassador to the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landrut.

A thorough exchange of views took place on a number of topical issues of the present-day international situation and on some questions of bilateral relations between the USSR and the FRG.

The representatives of the CPSU and the SPD expressed concern over the continued deterioration of the international situation and the escalating arms race, which is fraught with a grave threat to peace.

Yuriy Andropov spoke about the CPSU's and the Soviet Government's efforts to curb the race of nuclear and other arms, remove the threat of world nuclear war, strengthen the foundations of peace in Europe and throughout the world and develop large-scale mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social systems. He explained the meaning of the Soviet Union's proposals at the talks with the United States concerning medium-range weapons in the zone of Europe and strategic nuclear armaments, emphasizing that these proposals open a realistic way to just agreements on radical reductions of the nuclear arsenals, damaging the security of neither side, and to stronger mutual trust and general security. It is the same direction, Yuriy Andropov pointed out, that the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, set forth in the Political Declaration adopted by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague on January 5, indicate.

Yuriy Andropov drew his interlocutor's attention to the consequences, extremely dangerous to peace in Europe, which would follow the implementation of the U.S. and NATO plans to station in Western Europe, and primarily in the FRG, new American medium-range nuclear weapons.

Hans-Jochen Vogel stressed that all the forces committed to peace have now no task more important than curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and removing the threat of nuclear war. The SPD, he said, regards this as one of the main directions in its activities in the sphere of international relations. The FRG chancellor candidate described his party's position on issues of security and consolidation of peace, and characterised in this connection the content of the documents adopted in recent time by the SPD leadership. He also expressed the opinion that the new Soviet proposals and the collective proposals by the Warsaw Treaty member-states, on questions of terminating the arms race and lessening tension, are of a constructive nature and deserve most serious consideration.

The meeting's participants were unanimous in the positive assessment of the relations between the USSR and the FRG which successfully develop in various areas in the spirit of mutual benefit and goodneighborliness on the solid basis of the 1970 Moscow Treaty. Confidence was expressed that there are good prospects for further expansion of this cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and consolidation of European and universal peace.

The conversation was frank and constructive.

Vogel FRG TV Interview

DW120903 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2130 GMT 11 Jan 83

["Excerpt" from interview with SPD chancellor candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel by correspondent Lutz Lehmann following talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow on 11 January — recorded]

[Text] [Vogel] We exchanged assessments on the proposals, and I repeated here the assessment which I had expressed earlier in Washington as well as in Bonn. We asked some supplementary questions and we received initial answers. The discussions will continue tomorrow.

With all caution I would like to strike an interim balance and say that compared with its starting position, the Soviet side has moved seriously in the direction of an understanding in Geneva. It will depend on the answers to the supplementary questions as to whether further developments which will allow us reach our goal may be anticipated.

I also gained the impression that the Soviet side is now counting on some move by the United States.

[Question] The argument that in the area of medium-range weapons Andropov is counting missiles and not warheads is being used to criticize Andropov and his proposal. Did you also discuss this question and was anything clarified?

[Answer] We did discuss this question. The initial reply reflected a direction which appears to me to be constructive. However, we need more information from the talks scheduled to be held with experts tomorrow to form a final judgment.

[Question] When you were in the United States, you said that the Soviet Union must remove enough missiles so that additional missiles in Europe will be unnecessary. This almost sounds like a version of the Andropov proposal.

[Answer] You can say that if you want, but this also sounds like a reasonable interpretation of the dual decision because the goal which Helmut Schmidt had in mind from the outset -- as did many others who worked on it -- was to reduce the number of existing systems in such a way so that no new systems would need to be added. I believe that this is actually a very reasonable objective for the constantly increasing number of people who wish to halt this arms race and who desire a reversal of this process.

Vogel Summarizes Talks

LD111344 Hamburg DPA in German 1320 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Excerpt] Moscow, 11 Jan (DPA) -- Following his talks with Soviet party leader Yuriy Andropov in Moscow today, SPD chancellor candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel said that he is "if anything, strengthened" in his hopes that progress will be achieved at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on medium-range missiles in Europe.

Speaking to journalists in Moscow, Vogel said, after the 2 and 1/2 hour meeting, that Andropov showed "unmistakeable skepticism" toward the American attitude at the talks. However, on the basis of his own earlier talks in Washington, he himself expressed a different view on this point.

For the last 15 minutes of the substantially extended discussion, Vogel and Andropov conferred alone, with only interpreters present. Vogel described the atmosphere of the discussion as open and constructive. In addition to security issues, he had also touched upon Afghanistan, developments in Poland and the falling figures for exit permits for Russia's ethnic Germans.

The meeting at the Central Committee building was attended by SPD Presidium Members Egon Bahr and Hans-Juergen Wischnewski and by West German Ambassador Andreas Meyer-Landrut. Andropov was accompanied by the Central Committee seretary responsible for party relations, Boris Ponomarev; General Nikolay Chervov, a General Staff disarmament expert, and the United States specialist, Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov. Adviser Anatoliy Aleksandrov-Agentov, whom Andropov inherited from his predecessor, state and party leader Leonid Brezhnev, was also present.

Other W. German Reports

NC111851 Paris AFP in English 1828 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, Jan 11 (AFP) -- Soviet leader Yuriy Andropov is "highly skeptical" about a change in U.S. attitude on Euromissiles, German sources said here today after a two-hour meeting he had with Hans-Jochen Vogel, Social-Democrat candidate for the West German chancellery.

However Mr. Vogel, who also met with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Tikhonov, remained convinced that a compromise was possible, they added.

Mr. Vogel and Mr. Tikhonov discussed bilateral relations and examined development of economic cooperation between Moscow and Bonn, it was reported.

Mr. Vogel and Mr. Andropov talked about the Afghan situation, and the Soviet leader reiterated that Soviet troops would remain in that country as long as it was subject to "foreign interference," the West German sources said.

TIKHONOV RECEIVES VOGEL-LED SPD DELEGATION

Economic Cooperation Discussed

LD111616 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Today Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Vogel, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and SPD candidate for chancellor of the FRG, in the Kremlin.

During the conversation opinions were exchanged on questions of Soviet-West German relations. Particular attention was paid to the state of and prospects for the development of economic cooperation between the USSR and the FRG. Satisfaction was expressed with the level that has been achieved in trade and economic links on the basis of the implementation of agreements reached earlier and the long-term program of cooperation. It was noted that there are opportunities to further deepen mutually advantageous economic exchanges and to implement new major projects.

Comparison Report

Moscow TASS in English at 1633 GMT on 11 January carries a Moscow-datelined report on the meeting between Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov and SPD Presidium member Hans-Jochen Vogel of the FRG. Comparison with the above item reveals the two reports to be identical with the exception of the following additional passage:

The Moscow TASS English version adds the following paragraph:

Taking part in the conversation were, from the West German side--members of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany Egon Bahr, Hans-Juergen Wischnewski; the FRG Ambassador to the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landrut. From the Soviet side--Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Leonid Kostandov, member of the Collegium of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR Aleksandr Bondarenko.

FESTIVITIES HELD IN HONOR OF FRG'S VOGEL

FRG Envoy Hosts Reception

LD112112 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador in the USSR, held a reception today in connection with the arrival in Moscow of Vogel, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and SPD candidate for the post of FRG federal chancellor. Comrade Ponomarev, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Kostandov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials were present at the reception. Bahr and Wischnewski, members of the SPD Presidium, also attended.

On the same day, Hans-Jochen Vogel laid a wreath at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

Ponomarev Gives Luncheon

LD121334 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a luncheon today in honour of Hans-Jochen Vogel, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), candidate from the SPD to the post of the FRG federal chancellor.

Present at the luncheon were: From the Soviet side -- members of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Zagladin, Leonid Zamyatin and Zinaida Kruglova, USSR Justice Minister Vladimir Terebilov, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Komplektov, Chief of Division of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, Ambassador at Large Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and other officials; from the West German side -- members of the SPD Presidium Egon Bahr and Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, FRG ambassador to the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landrut.

During the luncheon Boris Ponomarev and Hans-Jochen Vogel exchanged friendly toasts.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA INTERVIEWS SPD MEMBER BAHR

LD111840 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- "Thanks to the proposals put forward by Yuriy Andropov there has been secured a shift in the positive direction in the general situation," eminent SPD member Egon Bahr, chairman of the Bundestag Subcommission for Disarmament and Arms Control, said in an interview with A. Frenkin, Bonn correspondent for the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

Firstly, Egon Bahr said, the Soviet Union expressed readiness to hold talks on concluding an agreement, which would provide for the renunciation of the first use of not only nuclear but also conventional arms. Secondly, a desire was voiced to limit conventional arms and look for sensible mutually acceptable solutions. Now the West has in its turn to make reply proposals as regards the talks concerning the overall balance of conventional armaments in Europe. Thirdly, the new Soviet compromise proposal towards reductions in the number of medium-range missiles is a very important step. Those who are interested in earnest in the Geneva talks to be productive should welcome this fundamental initiative.

The aim of the Geneva talks, Egon Bahr said further, is not a temporary but a long-term settlement of current problems. This means that the French and British nuclear systems should also be taken into account. The "zero option" should mean zero to all, so that there will be neither American, nor Soviet, nor French, nor British, nor Chinese medium-range missiles left anywhere at all.

In conclusion Egon Bahr, who is currently staying in Moscow as a member of an SPD delegation, expressed the conviction that the course for ensuring detente and peace will remain to be the pivot of Soviet foreign policy. This is a factor of exceptional significance, he emphasized.

W. EUROPE OFFICIALS REACT TO SOVIET PROPOSALS

LD112030 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS — Correspondents report:

Foreign Minister of Italy Emilio Colombo said in his radio address: "We should now very attentively analyse the meaning and the significance of the Soviet proposals. We should do it jointly. This should not be reaction of separate states. Thorough analysis should be made by all NATO member-countries, so that we should give a common answer". "But, I believe that there is a whole number of criteria that we should be guided by in analysing these proposals", the minister said.

Prominent leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, member of the Presidium of the Party's board Erhard Eppler greeted the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce its medium-range nuclear missile potential in Europe down to the level of armaments of Britain and France, if the United States renounces deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in the Western Europe. "This proposal of the USSR is highly positive", he said in his radio speech. The prominent leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany noted that the assurances of U.S. representatives that they treat most seriously the Geneva negotiations and strive for the attainment of positive results "look dubious".

Former FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stressed that the Soviet proposals aimed at universal disarmament, which were recently advanced by Yuriy Andropov, should be viewed as a new firm initiative. In Helmut Schmidt's opinion, Western countries should heed the USSR's peace proposals and get down to bilateral negotiations on the limitation of the arms race. To strengthen peace, he said, it is necessary not only to start negotiations, but also to start reducing the number of missiles in Europe and conclude an agreement that would lessen the danger of a nuclear war.

IZVESTIYA COMMENTARY ON ROGERS' INTERVIEW

LD112042 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS — In a commentary entitled "A Crude Provocation" the newspaper IZVESTIYA analyses the reaction in north European countries to an interview given by the Commander-in-Chief of the NATO joint armed forces in Europe General Rogers to the Finnish newspaper HELSINGIN SANOMAT.

The Rogers interview, just as all the other NATO propaganda actions, the commentary says, is designed to intimidate with the "Soviet threat", to sow discord between the northern neighbors. It is full of all sorts of inventions and crude insinuations about the Soviet Union and its policy in respect of the Nordic countries.

"In practical terms, not a single politician in the north of Europe has solidarised with Rogers", IZVESTIYA writes. "This is a clear sign that the provocation engineered by the strategists in Brussels has failed. Even Washington was compelled to dissociate itself from the utterings of the commander of NATO's forces in Europe".

"It is not the first time that NATO generals stage provocations intended to create a situation in northern Europe that would be beneficial to bloc's militaristic designs", the commentary stresses in conclusion. "Such actions usually ended dismally. The present provocation, that clearly bears the imprint of the cold war atmosphere, is no exception".

MARCHUK-LED DELEGATION BEGINS VISIT TO FRANCE

11 Jan Arrival

LD111740 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1248 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Paris, 11 Jan (TASS) -- A Soviet delegation led by Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, arrived here today to take part in the 17th session of the permanent joint Soviet-French commission. At Roissy-Charles de Gaulle Airport the delegation was met by Michel Jobert, French minister of state for foreign trade, and other officials.

Talks With Jobert

LD112212 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1702 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Summary] 'Paris, 11 Jan (TASS) -- A meeting was held here today between the heads of delegations at the 17th session of the mixed Soviet-French standing commission, Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and Michel Jobert, minister of foreign trade of France. During the course of the meeting an exchange of opinions took place on problems being examined at the current session." Since the founding of the commission in 1966 trade turnover between the USSR and France has increased 16 times and in 1981 amounted to over R4 billion.

PCF ROLE IN LEFT-WING GOVERNMENT ASSESSED

PM111521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 83 Second Edition p 4

[V. Gusenkov article under rubric "In the Fraternal Parties": "Concerns of France's Communists"]

[Excerpt] The Communist Party of France is having to operate in a complex situation that is unusual so far as it is concerned. After several decades of struggle in opposition, in 1981 it became part of the left-wing government, in which it is represented by four Communist ministers. The Communists' participation in the government is of great importance for safeguarding the interests of the working class and all the working people, and for defending France's national interests. The whole history of the French Communist Party [PCF] provides cogent confirmation of that: The PCF has had and continues to have no interests other than the interests of the working people, the interests of the nation.

In the government, in parliament, in the municipalities, in the trade unions and the other working people's organizations -- everywhere the Communists act as genuine spokesmen for the broad masses' aspirations. They work in a constructive spirit and make their contribution to strengthening the left-wing majority.

The cooperation between the Communists and the Socialists within the framework of the left-wing majority is a necessary condition of progress along the road of the democratic transformations favored by the majority of the country's population. At the same time it is clear that the Communist and the Socialist Parties represent different political forces. Their program, ideological and organizational foundations and principles, and their characters are different. So the Communists' determination to defend their own identity and their own class, revolutionary ideas is perfectly understandable.

Definite socioeconomic transformations have been implemented in the country in the 18 months since the left-wing forces' victory. The nationalization of a number of industrial and financial companies has made it possible to increase the state sector's role in the economy. Certain measures to improve the position of the least well-off categories of the population were taken in 1981. The process of decentralization -- that is, of expanding the rights of local organs of self-government -- has been begun and trade unions and working people have received new rights. These changes are democratic in character, but their impact on the country's economy and on the economic position of the masses' has been limited. The Communist Party supports every move in a positive direction. It acts as a loyal partner of the Socialist Party. Of course, the PCF does not regard all the government's actions as correct. For instance, the Communist Party expressed disagreement with the measures taken by the government last summer to freeze prices and working people's wages.

France is still in the throes of the crisis. In a recent speech at the PCF Central Party school, party Secretary General G. Marchais revealed the deepseated reasons for the crisis. A way out of the crisis must be sought along the road of socialism based on scientific principles and on French realities. That is the specific answer to French society's specific problems. That is also what the Communists call "a French brand of socialism." Bourgeois propaganda and also some people in the international workers movement are trying to portray the current crisis as some kind of "universal world ailment" also afflicting the socialist countries. G. Marchais demonstrated the invalidity of these attempts. Notwithstanding all the problems and difficulties that the socialist countries are running up against, he declared, their development is moving forward. Socialism invariably solves its problems in working people's interests.

One of the most acute problems in France today is the weakening of the country's industrial potential. This is the direct result of the French bourgeoisie's policy, which was pursued for many years. In recent years capital investment in national industry has decreased markedly and the export of capital to other countries is growing. According to the press, the total amount of capital exported now exceeds the volume of direct investment in national industry. Despite the left-wing government's appeals to invest money in France's economy, enterprise owners are continuing the "investment strike." This policy leads to a slump in production, to the closure of enterprises and to a reduction in the number of jobs. The democratic public is worried by the fact that the curtailment of production is increasingly affecting the state sector. Thus the upcoming elimination of 3,000 jobs at the metallurgical plants of the nationalized company Sacilor was announced recently. Yet almost half the steel used in France is imported from other countries. There are other similar cases. As a result the French economy is becoming increasingly vulnerable to penetration by foreign capital, especially American, West German and Japanese capital.

Unemployment remains a serious social problem. Although the rate of increase in it has slowed slightly, the total number of unemployed -- more than 2 million -- is around 8 percent of the country's active population.

Half of them are young people. Inflation continues, the cost of living is increasing and there is a danger of a decline in the population's living standards.

A fierce political and ideological struggle has developed over ways of solving the economic and social problems in the country. With the support of entrepreneurs' organizations representing the interests of big capital, the bourgeois opposition is stepping up pressure on the government in an attempt to secure the revision of its economic course. It is openly demanding the repeal of the law on nationalization and an end to the implementation of democratic reforms. The right-wing press is conducting a fierce propaganda war against the policy of change. Prescriptions for "austerity" are again being persistently publicized and working people are being insistently told that they are living beyond their means and that belts must be tightened. Television and radio and bourgeois propaganda mouthpieces such as the newspapers FRANCE-SOIR and LE FIGARO, the magazine LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR and others have mounted a crude anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign and are resorting to slander and fantasy in order to defame the very idea of socialism and, above all, to weaken the Communist Party.

The French Communists are resolutely exposing this coordinated campaign. L'HUMANITE is acting militantly, helping Communists to find their bearings in the contradictory situation. The PCF believes that socioeconomic reforms must not be shelved under the conditions of the exacerbating crisis and the attempts by the bourgeois opposition to launch a counteroffensive. The Communist Party is setting as one of the primary tasks that of renewing the economy and winning back the domestic market. It is a matter of sharply increasing capital investment in French industry, curbing the "flight of capital," ensuring that components are ordered from French enterprises, not from across the ocean or from other countries, and replacing imported goods with French goods. This line is aimed at reducing unemployment, expanding domestic consumption and defending working people's living standards. Such measures, which by no means signify autarky or protectionism, as the Communist Party's foes claim, could promote social progress and the defense of France's national interests.

There are already many examples of enterprising action by Communists over these questions. The workers of the large Hispano-Suiza enterprise outside Paris recently managed to ensure that the Paris transport authority bought French equipment, not American, as was planned. The Communist Party section at the Renault Motor vehicle plants in Billancourt made calculations demonstrating that the firm is purchasing assemblies and parts from 44 foreign suppliers for the production of the Renault 4 automobile when many of them can be produced in France.

The Communists' voice is having to be heeded. The resolute actions by the workers, primarily Communists, at the Creusot-Loire and Dresser-France plants against the American Administration's attempts to prevent deliveries of French equipment for the construction of the Siberia-West Europe gas pipeline were also a contribution to strengthening an independent economy. Working people greeted with satisfaction the stance of the French Government, which refused to obey the diktat of Washington, which is continuing to foist on France "economic warfare" against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In struggling for the rebirth of the French economy and for social progress, the Communists realize that this is no easy task. The levers of economic management are still in the hands of big capital. However, the Communists are conducting a creative quest with their characteristic persistence and energy and are gaining experience of class struggle in the new conditions. Life shows that the PCF's contribution to solving the problems facing the country is irreplaceable.

The Communists are firmly convinced that the working people themselves must be active participants in the processes that are taking place and they are doing a great deal to this end. France's progress along the path of change ultimtely depends on the scope and maturity of the people's movement.

The success of this course also depends to a great extent on the international climate. Clearly, in conditions of peace, detente and the lessening of military confrontation it is far easier to implement the socioeconomic reforms that France needs. Conversely, the growth of tension and any move toward an arms race will narrow the potential of the present experiment. The Communist Party vigorously advocates that France's disarmament and cooperation. This stance is entirely in line with principles on which the joint work of the Socialists and the Communists in the government is based. The cause of peace and security in Europe, and not only in Europe, would gain from the implementation of those principles.

GREECE PROTESTS INCREASED U.S. MILITARY ACTIVITY

LD121020 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Athens January 12 TASS -- Ioannis Kapsis, Greek deputy minister of foreign affairs, has lodged a vigorous protest with Monteagle Stearns, U.S. ambassador in Athens, in connection with the unlawful landings of U.S. military aircraft at Souda Airfield on Crete island, an official communique points out here.

Earlier, Lieutenant General (Nicos) Kouris, commander of Greek Air Force, is known to have demanded explanations from the military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Athens on that score.

"The Greek Government," the communique points out, "is not satisfied with the explanations given by the U.S. military attache to the commander of the Greek Air Force, Lieutenant General (Nicos) Kouris." Moreover, it cannot put up either with with the increased activity of the U.S. military at Souda base.

LEBANON TALKS, HABIB RETURN TO MIDEAST NOTED

Zlatorunskiy on Talks

LD112018 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 11 Jan 83

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program, written by A. Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] The fifth round of U.S.-Lebanese-Israeli talks have ended without any result. Like the previous four rounds it was devoted to preparing the agenda, but no agreement on the agenda was reached at the fifth round. Nevertheless, the fifth round was different in essence from the previous rounds, because the so-called compromise formula proposed by the U.S. representative, Draper, was discussed at this meeting. Therefore, it attracted special attention. But, as expected, the compromise formula did not differ much from the Israeli formula. It contained the same ideas but in different terms.

It would be naive for the U.S. representative to adopt a different stance, because every policy of Washington in the Middle East is solely geared to be pro-Israeli, so much so that it is impossible to see the difference between the stances of the two delegations, the American and the Israeli. There are, in fact, only two totally conflicting principles. Lebanon asks that the talks deal with the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Lebanese territory, while Israel and the United States demand that attention be focused on the so-called normalization of Lebanese-Israeli relations, or to put it much more simply, the spreading of the principles of Camp David to Lebanon.

Lebanon's views are backed by the Arab states and by all the forces which cherish peace, which realize that the conclusion of a Lebanese-Israeli deal, on the same line as Camp David, will definitely lead to a new aggravation of the situation in the Middle East. It is because of this failure that the White House has again sent the President's envoy, Philip Habib, the experienced diplomat in pulling ears, to the Middle East. But, as observers say, it is unlikely that Habib can change anything.

Zubkov Views Habib Objective

LD112314 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 11 Jan 83

[From "The World Today" program presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] U.S. special envoy Habib has once again undertaken a trip to the Near East.

Prior to his departure, Habib was received by President Reagan in the White House, where Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz and other leading figures in the American Government were also present. Habib told journalists that he is going to the Near East in order to facilitate the implementation of the Reagan peace plan. This is hardly a new objective. From all accounts, Habib's diplomatic portfolio does not contain any realistic or constructive proposals which would indeed help resolve this most protracted and dangerous conflict, the Near East conflict.

You know, comrades, that the Lebanese-Israeli talks have reached a dead end. Five rounds, five meetings between the representatives of Lebanon and Israel have passed without result, as we have informed you.

One should note that these meetings were held with the participation of an American delegation, or rather one should say that they reached a dead end not without the participation of the American delegation. You know quite well the reason for this: It is simple: While Lebanon, with full justification, gives priority to the question of the withdrawal of the aggressor's troops from its land, Israel is at the same time seeking to conclude a so-called peace treaty, to legitimize the occupation, to destroy not only the territorial integrity but also the independence and sovereignty of this Arab state. Such are the morals of Israeli policies.

Instead of withdrawing from the occupied foreign territory, the aggressor is requesting a peace treaty. It is requesting it because Israel feels and hopes it has all-round and constant assistance and support from the United States.

However, the ways of solving the Near East problem are quite different. An all-round normalization in the Near East must take into account a full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories; recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to create its own state, and the guaranteed right of all states in this region to security and independent existence and development. Only this will lead to the establishment of peace between the Arab states and Israel. This was the conclusion reached at the Fes conference of heads of Arab states and governments on the normalization of the Near East problem. The political declaration made by the Warsaw Pact member states says that they view positively the principles worked out at the Fes conference. It is necessary to convene an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO. Such a conference cannot be replayed by trips by U.S. envoys.

Moseyev on U.S. Proposals

LD120744 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 12 Jan 83

["Hypocritical Stand" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- Another, fifth, Lebanese-Israeli meeting which was held in Beirut's suburb of Khaldah on Monday ended with no result, Rafail Moseyev, PRAVDA's Beirut correspondent, writes in the newspaper today. At the meeting U.S. representative Morris Draper, who participates in the talks, submitted a Washington-prepared five-point draft agenda. Although U.S. official propaganda tries to picture the project as a kind of compromise solution, Arab political observers unanimously point out that Washington's proposals are virtually a direct reflection of Israel's stand and are directed against the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, the correspondent points out. They completely pass over in silence the question of immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Lebanese territory, on which the Lebanese side firmly insists.

It becomes increasingly evident, the dispatch goes on, that the Reagan administration fully supports the Israeli policy of expansion and regards the current talks as a new stage in the realisation of U.S. Middle-East course aimed at establishing U.S. dominance in the region.

The newspaper draws attention to the fact that the talks which have been imposed on Lebanon are taking place in an atmosphere of gross blackmail and political pressure on the part of Washington and Tel Aviv. This is evidenced, in particular, by the Zionist invaders' provocative sallies which have become frequent in the environs of Beirut. Despite the authorities' protests, they station their units in areas controlled by "multinational forces" and practise arbitrariness with regard to civilian population.

'ARAFAT, PLO DELEGATION ARRIVE IN MOSCOW

LD111530 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS -- A delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), headed by Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat, arrived in Moscow today for a short business visit.

Meeting With Andropov, Others

LD121424 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and Boris Ponomarev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today began a meeting in the Kremlin with a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation led by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

The delegation arrived in Moscow on a short working visit on Tuesday.

'Arafat Addresses Public Leaders

LD121254 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- "In spite of the great sacrifices and losses, PLO has emerged even stronger and better tempered politically from the grim struggle," said Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, who is currently staying in Moscow on a brief working visit. Yasir 'Arafat was speaking today at a meeting with leaders of Soviet public organisations.

The head of the PLO delegation expressed cordial gratitude for the great aid and support, which the USSR has given and continues giving to the Palestinian patriots and added: "In besieged Beirut we were inspired in our struggle by the courage and heroism of the defenders of Stalingrad and Leningrad during the years of the Second World War."

The Palestinian people, 'Arafat continued, have been a target of a carefully planned Israeli aggression designed to destroy our liberation movement. The whole world could see that the genocide policy pursued by Israel on the instructions and with the support of the USA has exceeded in its vandalism even the crimes of Nazi criminals.

The Israeli military, Yasir 'Arafat pointed out, were planning to crush and destroy PLO in a matter of three-five days, to drive a new wedge between the states of the region. The 88-day heroic struggle in besieged Beirut has demonstrated the might of our movement, the high combat spirit of the Palestinian and Lebanese patriots. In fighting, 'Arafat said, more than 300 enemy tanks and 20 aircraft were destroyed.

Yasir 'Arafat recalled that the withdrawal of PLO fighting men from Beirut was a humane act towards the 800 thousand peaceful civilians of the Lebanese capital. Even in the grim days of fighting the resistance fighters, 'Arafat said, took care of women, old people and children. Instead of the hospitals destroyed by the Israeli Army, 27 underground hospitals were built and tens of drinking water wells were dug.

"We are ready to fight and die for the sake of our people," 'Arafat continued, "and no military force of the enemy will put us on our knees. The Middle East crisis can be resolved only at the table of constructive business talks."

'Arafat Issues Statement

GF111954 San'a' Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Excerpt] Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the Palestinian revolution forces, has said that there is no likelihood that the Palestinian issue will be resolved soon.

In a statement to APN in Moscow yesterday, he said the reason hampering the solution of the Palestinian issue lies in the criminal aggressive policy practiced by the enemy's military clique led by the two terrorists, Menahem Begin and Ari'el Sharon. He added that a firm and decisive stand by the international community can aid in finding a solution to the Middle East issue.

Brother Abu 'Ammar noted that the United States continues to disregard the Arab Palestinian people's rights which the United Nations has recognized as legitimate. He added: The U.S. Administration is offering unlimited support to the Zionist aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

On Palestinian-Soviet relations, Brother Abu 'Ammar affirmed that the Soviet Union is decisively advocating the legitimate Arab Palestinian people's rights and this was clearly manifested at the international level in well-known Soviet initiatives and during the Zionist aggression.

Zlatorunskiy Views Visit

LD111908 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 11 Jan 83

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program, commentary by A. Zlatorunskiy]

[Text] Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived in the Soviet Union today. Yasir 'Arafat has frequently visited the Soviet Union and has met with Soviet leaders. Every visit he has made has turned into a brilliant manifestation of friendship between the Soviet and Palestinian peoples and an important contribution to the question of consolidating and widening the Soviet backing of the Palestinian revolution.

The Soviet Union is of the opinion that the Palestinian issue is the core of the Middle East dispute and without solving it no one can seriously talk about the establishment of a durable and just peace in the Middle East. Therefore, the settlement program proposed by the Soviet Union contains a demand for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent state. The Soviet Union recognizes the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This organization has proved that it is the vanguard of the Palestinian revolution in the arduous armed struggle against the Israeli Zionists and in the constant political struggle for the recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. The voice of the PLO echoes from the rostrum of the UN and other international organizations. It is recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians by more than 130 states. Only a few days ago, the participants in the political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact in Prague announced their unconditional support for the just cause of the Palestinians.

In welcoming Yasir 'Arafat in Moscow, the Soviets are warmly greeting, through him, the heroic fraternal Palestinian people who are standing at the vanguard of the struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

'ARAFAT CONTRASTS PLO RELATIONS WITH USSR, U.S.

LD120016 Moscow TASS in English 0000 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] New York January 12 TASS -- Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has expressed high appreciation of the stand of the Soviet Union on the problem of the Middle East settlement. He stressed in an interview with the U.S. "NBC" television company that the USSR has clearly and definitely pledged its support for the rights of the Palestinian people. The rights which were also confirmed by the U.N. and which include the right to self-determination. The right to return to their own homes and the right to create an independent state. The Soviet Union is a great power and a friend of ours, Yasir 'Arafat said.

As for the U.S. we have bitter experience of relations with the American Administration, he went on to say. Despite guarantees given by the U.S., Washington has allowed Tel Aviv to commit heinous crimes against the Palestinian people in the camps of Sabra and Shatila.

Confidence in the U.S. was totally undermined after the bloody massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps, when our women and children were brutally murdered, Yasir 'Arafat underlined.

Touching upon the recent decision of the U.S. Congress which increased annual American aid to Tel Aviv by about 500 million dollars, the Palestinian leader said: What is it -- a present to Israel or a remuneration for the crimes committed in Sabra and Shatila? Or perhaps it is remuneration for the policy of annexation and creation of new settlements on the occupied Arab territories which Tel Aviv continues to pursue?

Yasir 'Arafat reaffirmed the readiness of his organization to conduct open talks, including with the U.S., which would be aimed to return the motherland to the Palestinian people.

ETHIOPIAN COPWE CONGRESS ENDS; RESOLUTION ADOPTED

PM111435 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 83 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Serbin report: "COPWE Congress: Important Decisions"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 7 Jan -- The Second Congress of the Committee for Organizing the Party of Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE), which ended here yesterday, reaffirmed the Ethiopian revolutionaries' loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, their determination to bring to a successful conclusion work on creating a vanguard party of working people, and to continue the cause of tranforming the country on socialist principles.

The concluding session adopted a statement and a lengthy resolution defining COPWE's activity in the coming period.

These documents stress that COPWE will focus efforts on forming an Ethiopian Marxist-Leninist Party. In accordance with the congress decisions it will be created in the period up to September 1984 -- on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution's 10th anniversary.

Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam's report is unanimously approved in the congress resolution. The documents adopted set the task of stepping up and activating the commission's ideological work and extending its ranks. The strengthening of mass organizations remains an important avenue of activity.

The congress examined the country's economic situation, the problems of national economic development, and outlined concrete tasks in boosting the economy. It is proposed to channel efforts into increasing the number of production cooperatives, improving the work of state farms and extending small-scale industry and cooperation among craftsmen. Great significance is attached to creating a modern industry and infrastructure and improving management methods on the basis of long-term socialist planning. Provision is made for the further development of the health care and education systems and the formation of a national socialist culture in the interests of the broad people's masses.

The congress documents condemn imperialism's policy, which is dangerous for peace, and imperialist intrigues in the region.

A concluding speech was delivered at the congress by Mengistu Haile Mariam. He said that the struggle for the socialist transformation of the motherland requires devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, discipline and major organizational work. The speaker noted that the congress which has just ended is of historic significance for Ethiopian revolutionaries, since it heralded the start of the final stage of the creation of a Marxist-Leninist party in the country.

RSA'S ARMY 'INTENSIFYING ITS AGGRESSIVENESS'

LD111646 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English to Africa 1500 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] The Commander in Chief of the South African Army General Viljoen has come out with new threats against the sovereign Republic of Zimbabwe. According to reports from Pretoria Gen Viljoen openly threatened a greater confrontation between the South African Republic and its northern neighbour. The biligerent statement by the racist general is viewed by observers as another indication of the escalation of Pretoria's aggressive course aimed at destabilizing the situation in Zimbabwe. As can be seen from the African press, the South African Republic has begun knocking together for this purpose a so-called ethnic brigade made up of anti-governmental, para-revolutionary elements.

Now the enlisted men and their terroristic gang headed by Colonel (Breytenbach) of the South African Army are undergoing training under the supervision of South African instructors at four camps in the north of Transvaal Province. The assignments of this gang which has been set up along the lines of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement include acts of terrorism and sabotage against economic and military installations of that republic.

The preparations for sabotage, threats against Zimbabwe without a doubt, represent a component part of the overall strategy of the Pretoria regime in respect to the Frontline states. The aim of this strategy is to intimidate the independent states in the south of the continent, to damage their economy and defense potentials so as in the long run to knock them out of the struggle for the ultimate liquidation of colonialism and racism in Africa. And it is precisely this firm and steadfast support of the Frontline states, including Zimbabwe, to the national liberation struggles of patriots in Namibia and the South African Republic that rouses the hatred of the Pretoria racists. Quite indicative is the fact that the South African Army is intensifying its aggressiveness in parallel with the strengthening of the constructive collaboration with the present American Administration. Numerous facts indicate that the outright policy of international terrorism being practiced by Pretoria in respect to its sovereign neighbours comes in for the full approval of Washington. In countering the aggressive policy of the South African racists who are encouraged by Washington the Frontline states are taking various steps to protect their sovereignty. These countries are holding regular summit meetings where they draw up concrete plans for jointly rebuffing the South African racists.

BRIEFS

PROSPECTING AID IN ETHIOPIA -- Addis Ababa, 30 Dec (TASS) -- A complex program of prospecting and surveying mineral deposits is presently being carried out in various regions of Ethiopia. Although natural resources of this east African country have not yet been fully investigated, it is known that it possesses considerable deposits of gold, platinum, copper, potassium, quartz and other minerals. Special attention is being paid in this program toward increasing the gold output by applying modern technology. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are rendering major assistance to Ethiopia in mapping out and working mineral deposits. Soviet geologists are now prospecting for oil and gas in Hararge province and for gold in Adola, where several promising fields of this precious metal have already been located. [Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0000 GMT 30 Dec 82 LD]

WRECKAGE OF U.S. AIRCRAFT FOUND IN BRAZIL

LD101520 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 10 Jan 83

[From The "International Diary" program presented by Georgiy Alekseyev and (Petr Fedorov)]

[Text] AFP reports from the capital of Brazil that a group of Air Force experts has flown to Brazil's northeast to examine the remains of an aircraft discovered in the jungle by hunters. They said that the inscription United States Air Force can be discerned on the outside. It is also reported that the find is approximately 13 meters long. Close by were found dozens of meters of movie film, and cameras for aerial photographic survey work. Brazilian experts believe it is a U.S. spy-plane. These jet-powered aircraft, which soar at high altitude, were used extensively by the United States in espionage work 20 years ago. As is known, one of these aircraft, flown by the spy-pilot Powers, was shot down on our country's territory on 1 May 1960. The report form Brazil may be the first evidence of the Pentagon's use of these planes in South America.

PRAVDA COMMENTS ON U.S. AID TO GUATEMALA

LD111524 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2208 GMT 10 Jan 83

["Aid For the Butchers" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS) -- The White House has announced its decision to supply the dictatorial regime in Guatemala with a major consignment of spare parts for military helicopters and other military equipment.

Nikolay Ognev writes on this subject today [11 December] in PRAVDA. Washington gave "the clear improvement" in the state of human rights in Guatemala as the reason for its decision on the deliveries. However, according to data from the U.S. weekly PEOPLE'S WORLD, in the period from last March onwards when the state coup was carried out, about 9,000 civilians have become victims of the dictator Rios Montt. A state of siege was declared in the country on 1 July 1982. On these grounds civil liberties were removed, censorship was introduced and military tribunals were formed which had the power to carry out a public death sentence, notes the commentary. One can supplement this list of "successes" with the bombing of peaceful Indians with napalm, mass violence against villagers in the departments of Chimaltenango and Huehuetenango, and the cruel torturing of completely innocent victims, including women, old men and children.

It is not the first time that the White House has tried to make black look white in justifying its military aid to the bloody regimes of Central America, says the commentary. For example, having visited a number of Latin American countries a month ago President Reagan saw "great progress" in the sphere of human rights in El Salvador, where about 40,000 people have died in the past 3 years at the hands of the military.

The Washington administration's policies of cooperation with the extremely brutal Central American dictatorships is arousing serious discontent among the Americans themselves.

These policies are also not bringing the administration credit on the international arena but only compromise it even more in the eyes of the Latin American and world public. By openly siding with the dictators who have their hands stained with the blood of their own peoples, Washington is aiding international terrorism.

DPRK'S KIM IL-SONG SENDS GREETINGS TO ANDROPOV

PM071607 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 82 Second Edition p 7

[Text] To Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

I, in the name of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Korean people and in my own name, extend warm feiicitations and greetings to you and, through you, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The formation of the USSR was a brilliant victory of the Leninist national policy and a historical event which instilled confidence in victory in to the Soviet people in firmly defending the great gains of the October Socialist Revolution and paving the first road to socialism in the encirclement of capitalism.

Since the formation of the USSR, the Soviet people have consolidated and developed the new Soviet socialist system and converted their country into a socialist power, overcoming all difficulties and trials under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Today the fraternal Soviet people are significantly greeting the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, their national holiday, with shining feats in their labor and bending great efforts for safeguarding peace and security of the world against new war provocation maneuvers of the imperialists.

The Korean people rejoice as over their own over all the achievements the fraternal Soviet people have registered by displaying their creative enthusiasm and warmly hail them.

The Korean and Soviet peoples have formed a solid bond of friendship on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and these relations are excellently developing with each passing day.

In the belief that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples will grow stronger and develop through the common struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism, I take this opportunity to sincerely wish you and the fraternal Soviet people greater success in their endeavors to implement the decisions of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK

COMPARISON OF KISELEV SPEECH AT 21 DEC SESSION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 22 December in its Second Edition carries on page 5 an account of the speech delivered by T.Ya. Kiselev, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee, at the 21 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service version published in the 22 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages P 7-P 8, revealing the following variations:

Page P 7, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after paragraph 2:

Today our thoughts and feelings of gratitude turn to the brilliant architect of the world's first unified union multinational state of workers and peasants, Vladimir Ilich Lenin. (applause)

We owe all our achievements to the fact that Lenin is always with us, in our hearts, plans and deeds, and that Lenin's all-conquering banner is always ahead of us! It is in reliable hands, in the hands of our Communist Party, the tried and tested leader of all the country's nations and ethnic groups. (applause)

Once again the recent CPSU Central Committee plenums demonstrated unfailing loyalty to the Leninist course in communist creation and the solid unity of party and people. The decisions they took met with the unanimous approval and undivided support of the working people of Belorussia and of the country as a whole.

Our people are filled with ardent love of and gratitude to the party for its wise domestic and foreign policy and its dedication to the people's vital interests. (applause)

Page P 7, paragraph 4, line 4, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after the sentence ending "...of the peoples.":

Soviet Belorussia has also achieved all-around prosperity in the harmonious family of Soviet republics, along with the rest of the country.

The exhibits in the republic's pavilion at the first all-union exhibition in Moscow in 1923 were timber, matches, bristles and hardware -- practically all that we produced at that time. Today the republic's industry offers heavy trucks and tractors, fast-operating computers and program-controlled machine tools, large-scale chemical industry products, refrigerators and televisions and various other consumer goods. Today the enterprises of more than 100 of our industrial sectors produce as much in 10 days as was produced in all of 1940. The socioeconomic complexion of the Belorussian countryside has also been transformed and become qualitatively different.

Our most cherished achievement is the generations of ardent patriots and convinced internationalists raised by the party.

The total commitment, typical of all the Soviet nations, to increase one's contribution to the common wealth of all the people is the supreme moral law for the working people of Belorussia. At the moment their efforts are concentrated on carrying out the tasks set out by the 26th party congress and the May and November (1982) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The republic's industry completed the targets of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan for increasing output volume 1 month ahead of schedule. The plan for grain sales to the state was fulfilled. Production and purchases of livestock products increased. At the same time, not everything is being done as one would like, as is necessary. We are aware that there is a lot of hard work to be done. The key to success lies in our organization and discipline and in the full mobilization of our will and energy.

Page P 8, PRAVDA supplies the following additional, concluding passage after the last paragraph of Kiselev's speech.

Long live the indestructible friendship and international fraternity of the Soviet peoples!

Honor and glory to the CPSU and its Leninist Central Committee! (prolonged applause)

COMPARISON OF RASHIDOV SPEECH AT 21 DEC SESSION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 22 December in its Second Edition carries on page 5 an account of the speech delivered by Sh.R. Rashidov, first secretary of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee, at the 21 December Kremlin meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the USSR. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service Russian version published in the 22 December Soviet Union Daily Report, pages P 8-P 9, revealing the following variations:

Page P 8, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after paragraph 1:

We were the first; we trod unexplored paths together arm in arm. We were led and are being confidently led into the future by the glorious Leninist party.

It laid for us the highway into the future, the way of truth, the way of happiness, the way millions of people are now following and which all mankind is destined to follow. (applause)

We see in this the life-asserting force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the profound internationalism of our social system and the monolithic unity of party and people.

Page P 8, paragraph 3, line 3, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after the sentence ending "...and strong cables.": But it would be impossible to list everything. The results of the last 2 years show that the republic will not only attain the targets set for the 5-year plan but will in many respects surpass them. (applause)

Our farmers' contribution is becoming bigger and bigger. This year, as before, the republic overfulfilled plans and socialist pledges on procurement and sales to the state of grain, vegetables and fruit, grapes and melon crops, astrakhan and silk and on supplies of agricultural products to national stocks.

Page P 8, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after paragraph 4:

This year has shown that cotton growing is now conducted basically on intensive lines in the republic. It relies on the country's industrial might and on advanced technology; and, primarily, on the strength and durability of our all-union fraternity which took root in the initial days of the USSR's formation.

Page P 9, PRAVDA inserts the following additional passage after paragraph 4:

But it is not only in extremely dramatic circumstances that the Soviet peoples support one another. Indestructible unity, mutual support, respect and trust and friendship and fraternity among the working peoples have long been the law and quintessence of the Soviet way of life. (applause) This multifaceted unity, cemented by the Communist Party, is the ultimate foundation of all our victories and is the guarantee of our future successes in communist building. (applause)

The mighty family of Soviet peoples is now capable of deeds which once were but a dream.

Page P 9, PRAVDA supplies the following additional, concluding passage after the last paragraph of Rashidov's speech:

Our country is young; it is living a truly golden period in its history. It is only a few decades old. Yet the military and labor exploits of its people are indisputable evidence of the all-conquering strength of Marxism-Leninism and Soviet people's moral purity and maturity. (applause)

The working people of Uzbekistan, like all Soviet people, will continue to increase their contribution to strengthening our motherland's economic and defense might and cherish the Leninist friendship of the peoples and our beautiful, indestructible motherland. (prolonged applause)

POLITBURO CANDIDATE MEMBER KISELEV DIES 11 JAN

Radio Announcment, Obituary

LD121126 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers with profound grief announce that on 11 January 1983, after a serious long illness, Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev, a prominent figure in the Communist Party and the Soviet state, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Hero of Socialist Labor, died.

Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev was born on 12 August 1917 in the village of Ogorodnya, which is now in Dobrushskiy Rayon in Gomel Oblast, into a poor peasant family.

A member of the CPSU since 1940, he completed Gomel Pedagogic Institute and the higher party school at the CPSU Central Committee. He worked for a long time as a teacher, head of a teaching section of a 7-year school and director of a secondary school. Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev had been engaged in party work since 1944. He was an instructor at Gomel Obkom, leader of the group of readers [lektorskaya gruppa] at Brest Obkom and deputy chief and chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

In 1952 Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev was first secretary of Brest Obkom and later secretary and second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. For a period of almost 20 years he worked as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR. Here the remarkable qualities of a talented party and soviet leader that were inherent in Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev were vividly discovered.

He did much in the mobilization of the working people to restoring the towns, villages, industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhozes destroyed during the war and the further development of the republic's production forces. During these years new branches of the economy were set up in Belorussia. Agriculture achieved good gains. Major social transformations were implemented.

From 1978 Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev worked as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In October 1980 Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev was elected first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. Since the 22nd party congress he had been a member of the CPSU Central Committee. Since October 1980 Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev had been a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He was elected a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the fourth and subsequent convocations. Since July 1981 he had been a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev showed creativity and initiative in implementing the policy of the CPSU in all the areas to which the party directed him, says the obituary signed by the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. He was distinguished by a high level of competence and erudition, a principled nature and businesslike qualities, attention and sensitivity towards people and personal charm and modesty. All this earned Tikhon Yakovlevich broad recognition and prestige.

For his great services to the Communist Party and the Soviet state Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor in 1977. He was awarded five Orders of Lenin, Order of the October Revolution, the Badge of Honor and many medals.

The bright memory of Tikhon Yakovlevich Kiselev, true son of the Leninist party and Soviet people and ardent patriot and Communist, will be forever preserved in the hearts of Soviet people.

TASS Cites Obituary

LD121052 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- "Wherever he was sent to work by the party, Tikhon Kiselev displayed resourcefulness and initiative in implementing the CPSU's policy," says the obituary on the death of Tikhon Kiselev, an eminent figure of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia.

For nearly twenty years he worked as chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belorussia, vividly revealing the fine qualities of a talented party and soviet leader. Over those years new industries were launched, agriculture made appreciable progress and major social transformations were effected in Belorussia, says the obituary signed by the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

From 1978 Kiselev worked as a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In October 1980 he was elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia. Also from 1980 he was an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

DPA: FORMER HEAD OF STATE PODGORNYY DIES

LD121130 Hamburg DPA in German 1113 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (DPA) -- Former Soviet head of state Nikolay Podgornyy has died at age 79. This was confirmed to DPA today at the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet Presidium in Moscow. Podgornyy, a Ukrainian, was chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and hence head of state from 1965 to 1977.

MOSCOW MEETING ADDRESSES DISCIPLINE, LAW & ORDER

Grishin Attends

LD112338 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 83

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] A meeting was held in Moscow today of representatives of collectives of law enforcement enterprises, institutions and organizations and housing bodies of the capital which have come out with a new patriotic initiative: to strengthen exemplary labor discipline by exemplary public order. The meeting discussed practical measures associated with mounting a drive to further strengthen law and order and step up the campaign against antisocial manifestations. Speaking to those assembled, Viktor Nikolayevich Khlopov, secretary of the party committee of the Moscow electronic works, said among other things:

[Begin Khlopov recording] It was as a guide to action that the workers of the factory received the passages in the speech at the plenum by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, about the need to wage a resolute struggle against any violations of party, state and labor discipline.

Through a more efficient organization of affairs and by raising the personal responsibility of all workers at the factory, we have already achieved a palpable cut in nonproductive losses and a rise in labor productivity.

The front-ranking brigades of a number of workshops at the factory have come out with an initiative: not a single violation at the works nor in everyday life. This initiative has been taken up by the whole collective. My comrades at work are well aware that without their personal participation, the participation of all the working people and residents of the city, the problem of reinforcing law and order cannot be solved. They are making concrete proposals aimed at thwarting embezzlement, self-seeking and other manifestations of money-grubbing, and at securing the proper public order on the streets, in the parks and in apartment blocks. They are declaring their direct participation in the solution of these questions.

In every brigade, section, shift and workshop comradely reminders to sloppy workers -- spirit drinkers, scroungers, all violators of discipline and order -- are being stepped up. The factory workers realize that discipline and order and the strict observance of Soviet laws and rules of the social way of life must be affirmed not only in the working collectives but outside the enterprise as well. [applause] [end recording]

The participants in the meeting adopted an appeal to labor collectives and all inhabitants of Moscow, urging them to resolutely fight against all antisocial manifestations, and to unite more closely the efforts of the collectives of enterprises, housing and public organizations and law enforcement bodies in pursuit of this cause.

Comrade Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow Gorkom, spoke at the meeting.

Further Report

LD120416 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 83

[Text] Today in Moscow at a meeting of representatives of collectives of enterprises, institutions and organizations of law enforcement and housing bodies practical measures to further strengthen law and order and to intensify the struggle against antisocial manifestations were discussed.

The essence of today's meeting -- and every speaker spoke about this -- is to create, not in words but in deeds, an atmosphere of intolerance and general condemnation of drunkards, hooligans, idlers, pilferers and money-grubbers -- all those who infringe public order. We have no social reasons for crime but it is those people who are the infringers of law and order. Model order for a model town, the movement begun by advanced collectives of the town, was approved by the Moscow Gorkom Bureau. Here is what Antokhin, chairman of the council of the public center for safeguarding order in Voroshilovskiy Rayon said:

[Begin Antokhin recording] We believe that the movement for the enforcment of model public order has to become the logical development of the patriotic initiative for the strengthening of labor and industrial discipline. An important role in this cause belongs to the advanced collectives of enterprises and organizations who work with the population in their homes.

Cases of drunkenness, hooliganism and the incorrect behavior of certain citizens in everyday life still persist. All this creates an unhealthy atmosphere, impedes the normal lives of people and causes disgusted indignation. We have to say to all violators of public order an insistent no. If the forces of persuasion will not work enforcement measures will be applied resolutely.

We appeal for every toiler, every inhabitant of the city to take part in the enforcement of model public order in our capital. These questions must occupy the focus of attention of all labor collectives and public centers to safeguard order in the city of Moscow. [end recording]

Today at the meeting specific questions were raised and specific desires were articulated. Here is what militia Major Kuznetsov, head of the 46th Department of the Moscow Militia, said:

[Begin Kuznetsov recording] We have decided that the fight against negative phenomena on the streets and in public places requires the energetic participation of every worker, from the head to the rank-and-file militiaman, in order to cover all potential crime areas every hour of the day, to take effective measures to suppress any antisocial manifestations. Despite the tension of work, every worker in our department has pledged to patrol areas with volunteer militiamen and to work no less than 80 hours of their off-duty time.

We consider the further strengthening of interaction with voluntary people's militia groups as indispensable to the effective safeguarding of public order. To these ends we have adopted measures to improve the training of members of volunteer militia groups, have organized joint patrols and are conducting raids to prevent apartment thefts, drunkenness, parasitism and violations of the passport regulations. We see our main task as the prevention of crime and the eradication of its causes. [end recording]

The participants in the meeting adopted a message to labor collectives and all the inhabitants of Moscow with an appeal to resolutely fight all antisocial phenomena. Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom spoke at the meeting.

PRAVDA EDITORIAL VIEWS ROLE OF PARTY COMMISSIONS

LD120334 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] The 3d year of the 5-year plan is in progress. Party organizations and labor collectives are to start worthily fulfilling tasks set by the November 1982 CPSU plenum. In this, says PRAVDA in its editorial, a huge role is played by the perfection of the style and methods of party leadership, control and checking of execution. Today's editorial is devoted to the work of the party commissions.

Party control, PRAVDA notes, is called upon to bring up cadres in a spirit of lofty discipline and strict observance of CPSU statutes. Liberalism is quite impermissible here; condescension is unjustified, still less so is connivance with offenders. Such an approach not only frees from responsibility those who behave unworthily, but also harms the cause of the correct upbringing of cadres. This cannot be permitted. One must stand guard firmly on the norms of party life, exert affective influence on the eradication of negative phenomena. Mismanagement, extravagance, deceiving the state, bureaucratism; in a word, any deviation from our moral bastions must receive uncompromising party appraisal. It is necessary to increase responsibility for the observance of the interests of all the state and all the people, and resolutely eradicate narrow departmental attitudes and parochialism.

The party commissions have many tasks and worries, writes PRAVDA. At the 26th party congress it was noted that checking on execution is still a weak point in the work of a considerable number of party organizations. In the light of the May 1982 CPSU plenum, dire attention must be paid to the struggle against losses and spoilage of agricultural produce. There is to be stronger interaction of the party commissions with the organs of people's control, with the standing commissions of the soviets of people's deputies and trade union organizations, says the editorial.

SHEVARDNADZE REPORT TO GEORGIAN PARTY, GOVERNMENT

WA121500 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Dec 82 pp 1-3

[Speech by E.A. Shevarnadze: "Union of Soviet Peoples, Union of Hearts: Speech by Comrade E.A. Shevarnadze, Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, at the Ceremonial Session of the Georgian CP Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet in Honor of the 60th Anniversary of the USSR"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in the source]

[Text] Comrade members of the Georgian CP Central Committee!

Comrade deputies!

Dear friends!

Honored guests!

Today we celebrate an especially joyous holiday. A while ago the GSSR was awarded the Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Trade Unions Council and the Komsomol Central Committee, in recognition of its accomplishments in economic and cultural construction and the major contribution it has been making to the development of the integrated national economic complex as well as on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Allow me, dear comrades, to express in your behalf, in behalf of the participants in our ceremonial session, the deepest gratitude to the Leninist Central Committee of our party, the Politburo of the Central Committee, and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for their great appreciation of the contribution being made by our republic to national welfare, for the warm, cordial greetings addressed to the working people of Soviet Georgia, for the concern and solicitude shown for them.

We all rejoice that the Red Banner, awarded for accomplishments in the all-Union socialist competition and on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, was brought to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic by Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Savinkin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the Department of Administrative Organs at the CPSU Central Committee, whom the working people of Georgia thrice elected deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrade N.I. Savinkin displays unflagging and extremely lively interest in the activities of the republic's party organization, provides them with great practical assistance in improving the party's guidance over the assurance of socialist legality and socialist law and order as well as in improving the performance of administrative organs, and ardently rejoices over all the achievements and successes of the republic. We do sense with what gratification Nikolay Ivanovich has carried out the mission entrusted to him. WE SHALL CARRY HIGH THIS RED BANNER!

Thank you, esteemed Nikolay Ivanovich, for your good and cordial words, for your sincere and warm well wishes to the republic's communists and all working people on the eve of the national holiday.

Comrades!

TODAY WE SHALL SPEAK OF THE SOVIET UNION, of its 60th anniversary.

The day of establishment of the USSR -- 30 December -- is a red-letter day on our calendar. And a month ago, on 7 November, the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution took place. The Great October opened a new era in the history of

mankind; it opened the road toward the freedom and happiness of people. The 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR is a holiday of the international unity, friendship and brotherhood of all Soviet peoples.

The special meaning of this remarkable date consists in that we celebrate it so soon after the regular November plenum of the Central Committee of our party which has drafted a specific program for the country's economic and social development during the 3rd year of the 11th Five-Year Plan and in the long run.

In his speech at that plenum Comrade Yu.V. Andropov declared that the days of bidding farewell to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev demonstrated anew to the entire world that OUR COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOVIET NATION ARE INDIVISIBLE, THAT THEY LIVE FOR THE SAME GOAL -- THAT OF STRIDING FORWARD FIRMLY AND STEADFASTLY ON THE LENINIST PATH.

Comrade Yu.V. Andropov said: "We are about to celebrate an important event in the history of our multinational socialist state: the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. These days, Soviet people dwell lovingly in their thoughts on our Leninist party, which had stood at the wellsprings of the establishment of the USSR and is wisely leading the peoples of our country along the path of building communism.

Notable milestones on the road toward this glorious anniversary were, to the communists of Georgia and the working people of our republic, such important events in our life as the 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORY OF SOVIET RULE IN GEORGIA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GEORGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY, on which, at the ceremonies in Tbilisi, L.I. Brezhnev had stated that Georgia is a lovely land inhabited by an open-hearted people which has long valued human nobility, inspired labor, military glory and loyalty in friendship; THE AWARDING OF THE ORDER OF LENIN TO THE CITY OF TBILISI, when Comrade K.U. Chernenko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, expressed such high appreciation, declaring that ours is an interesting republic and that Georgia's party organization works energetically and creatively, and expressing the confidence that both Tbilisi and the entire Georgia shall gladden the Homeland with new achievements; and lastly THE ADOPTION OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION "ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF THE GEORGIAN SSR IN MAKING PREPARATIONS FOR THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE USSR."

We attach special importance to that resolution, because it crowns, as it were, all the seven decisions of the CPSU Central Committee concerning Georgia and our party organization, adopted in the last 10 years beginning with the historic decision of the party Central Committee concerning the Tbilisi city party committee.

The significance of this party document is even greater if we consider that it assesses the positive experience of the work of the republic's party organization which, as the resolution states, increasingly affirms the practice of a comprehensive approach to the solution of political, social and economic problems. The resolution further states that in the course of their preparations for celebrating the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the republic's party organizations gained new rich experience in propaganda and mass-education work as well as in the communist education of working peope, and it emphasizes the great importance of our consistent work to further strengthen the fraternal friendship of nations and improve the patriotic and internationalist education of working people.

Thus while the first resolution -- the one dealing with the Tbilisi city party committee -- concerned MAJOR SHORTCOMINGS IN ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK to implement the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee concerning Georgia, adopted on the occasion of the jubilee of the Soviet State, mentions THE POSITIVE EXPERIENCE IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK of party organizations of the republic with respect to preparations for the 60th anniversary of the USSR during the period following the 26th CPSU Congress.

I

Our united multinational federal state of workers and peasants, the world's first, is THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

Comrades, let us ponder the meaning of each of the words composing the name of our state, as well as the connotations associated with them.

UNION.

UNION of the republics -- this is a voluntary union dictated by the common goals of uniting free, equal and sovereign national state formations.

The Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a living embodiment of the ideas of V.I. Lenin, of the Leninist principles of nationality policy, formed owing to the victory of the Great October.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the legal governmental embodiment of the idea of proletarian internationalism which has assured the revolutionary-humanist and only correct solution of the nationality problem.

The striving toward a voluntary and just union of states has always been a dream of nations. They understood that uniting their strength would make it possible to solve more easily the basic problems of life and to struggle for a better future. Quite a few unions of states have been recorded at various stages in history. But these unions were far from embodying the wishes of nations, far from the goals of the working people, because these unions were established by exploiter states for purposes of selfish gain. Such unions collapsed just as rapidly as they had been formed, or the stronger nations absorbed and oppressed the weaker ones. All this led not to freedom -- the goal of nations -- but to greater oppression -- of both the dominant nations and the slave nations because, according to the genius idea of Marx and Engels, a nation that oppresses other nations cannot be free.

The strength and inviolability of the statehood union of the Soviet socialist nations consists in that it is built on a completely new foundation. It has been created by the liberated working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country on the principles of justice, equality and mutual trust and brotherhood.

Three years prior to the establishment of the USSR V.I. Lenin had written: "We want a VOLUNTARY union of nations -- a union that would not admit any oppression of one nation by another, a union that would be based on the most complete trust, on a clear awareness of fraternal unity, on completely voluntary agreement."

Such a union has been created.

Such a union contributes to the harmonious development and broad flowering and rapprochement of nations as well as of their economic and social relations and cultures.

It is precisely the statehood union of our nations that has consolidated them into a united fraternal family and resulted in the formation of a new historic community -- the Soviet nation -- the prototype of the future communist brotherhood of the people of our planet, and transformed the friendship, monolithic unity and solidarity of the peoples of the USSR into a main motive power of our society.

The Soviet nation is indeed a qualitatively and fundamentally new historic community of people which does not personify its individual member nations nor transform them into a faceless mass but unites them and their cultures polyphonically and harmonically and liberates and fosters the best features of their national characters, enriches them mutually and combines their unique individual voices into an elegant symphony.

The union of nations into that new historic community, the Soviet nation, has resulted not in the leveling of national characters and cultures but in their flowering, not in grayness and monotony but in the blooming of many flowers under the same sun, and not in depersonalization but in the complete release of the creative energies of every nation and nationality. This new historic community, this Soviet nation, represents a historically new, qualitatively higher stage of the union of people and, I repeat, the prototype of the future communist brotherhood of all people on our planet.

It is precisely to the UNION of fraternal republics that our mighty homeland as a whole as well as every republic in particular owe their accomplishments in all domains of social life.

STRENGTHENING THE UNION, DEVELOPING AND DEEPENING THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP OF THE NATIONS OF THE USSR, IS THE SACRED PATRIOTIC AND INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF EVERY COMMUNIST, EVERY CITIZEN. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN OUR FRATERNAL INTERNATIONAL TIES IN ECONOMY AND CULTURE AND EDUCATE GENUINE INTERNATIONALISTS-LENINISTS, ARDENT PATRIOTS OF OUR GREAT HOMELAND!

OUR UNION IS THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. In terming the Union republics SOVIET we thereby stress the special social-political role of the SOVIETS in the life of our society.

SOVIET! What a lofty and noble word it is in itself! Those who hold counsel together ["sovetuyutsya"] are as a rule people of the same cast of mind who respect and understand perfectly each other.

But the term "Soviet" acquired a special moral-political meaning during the first Russian revolution, during the period of its vigorous development when, as a result of the revolutionary creativity of workers, there arose the soviets of workers' deputies which V.I. Lenin had perceptively viewed as the organ of the struggle for the victory of the revolution, for socialism, the organ of dictatorship of the proletariat, the prototype of the social-political system of the socialist society.

The term "Soviet" as used to name our country has a deeply humanist meaning, reflecting the deepest and broadest democratism of the very idea of our statehood, pointing to the democratic principles underlying the social, nationality, service and, if you like, interpersonal relations in our country, pointing to the cementing foundations of our Union. The term "Soviet" itself excludes, under socialism, the imposition of the will of one nation upon another, of one social group upon another, of one individual upon another; it precludes dictat and implies mutual respect of the freedom of the members of our society; it counsels ["sovetuyet"], as it were, placing that freedom in the foundation of intercourse among nations, classes, social groups and individuals.

Yes, our country is the LAND OF THE SOVIETS. Our people governs its country and settles all of its vital problems through the mediation of the soviets it elects -- the soviets of people's deputies which -- from the local soviets to the USSR Supreme Soviet -- embody and express the will of the people and are the organs of its state rule.

It is precisely owing to SOVIET rule, the RULE OF THE SOVIETS of worker and peasant deputies, that we have been able to solve the main social-political problem of our revolution -- the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, the liberation of society from class antagonisms, the establishment of the ideological-political unity of society, a unity representing a motive power on the road toward complete social equality, toward the association of free producers.

We owe to Soviet rule our accomplishments in the economic, social, political and cultural fields. We owe to it the successful solution of the nationality problem in this country, because only the Soviet republics, the republics of workers, peasants and the labor intelligentsia, the genuinely national republics, could compose our free and equal union.

THE STRENGTHENING OF SOVIET RULE, THE DEEPENING AND EXPANSION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIETS AND THE ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR INITIATIVE AND ELEVATION OF THE LEVEL OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR LIFE IS THE SACRED CIVIC DUTY OF EVERY COMMUNIST, EVERY MEMBER OF OUR SOCIETY. AND WE ARE REMINDED OF THIS DUTY BY THE WORD "SOVIET" IN THE NAME OF OUR HOMELAND.

OUR UNION IS THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. Our republics are called and are SOCIALIST, thereby also stressing that our entire socio-political and economic system of society, our way of life is socialist, that our society is socialist, that our homeland is the homeland of real socialism. And this very name reflects the realization of the dream, held by the best minds of mankind, of socialism as the most just society based on the principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood, a society free of exploitation of man by man, a society assuring the broad and harmonious development of all its members and their relations. History records many projects for creating a socialist society, but they all had remained utopias.

As transformed by the genius of Marx, Engels and Lenin into a science, socialism became reality for the first time in our country, in the Land of the Soviets.

Socialism is the objective reality, notwithstanding all the attempts of our enemies and ill-wishers who incessantly and malignantly speak about the so-called "flaws" of real socialism.

At first they had untiringly asserted that there is no socialist Russia at all. Later arose prophets of the inevitable doom and total collapse in our system of society. Now there have arisen newly baked faultfinders who can in no way desist from attacking real socialism and trying to detect in it all sorts of "defects."

But socialism keeps living and growing, gaining in strength, breadth and depth. Having seized human imagination, it has become the irresistible movement of the present times to which rally millions upon millions of people on Earth and which is creating a great community of nations, a community that shall decisively influences the political, moral and psychological climate on our planet. This is because it is precisely socialism and socialism alone that has become a mighty force capable of bringing peace to mankind and a happy future, capable of realizing its brightest hopes, its agelong dream which, as never before, has become accessible and real.

And the word "socialist" is not only rightly part of the name of our country -- a country that is the standard-bearer of socialism, a country which is blazing for mankind the trail toward communism; it also reminds us of the sacred duty of each of us, party members and non-party members, TO STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS OF OUR LIFE, TO DEVOTE ALL OUR STRENGTH TO DEVELOPING THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY, TO GUARD LIKE THE APPLE OF ONE'S EYE AND MULTIPLY SOCIALIST PROPERTY, TO DEVELOP AND PERFECT SOCIALIST SOCIAL RELATIONS, TO CONSOLIDATE IN ALL WAYS THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE, AND TO CONTRIBUTE IN ALL WAYS TO THE FLOWERING AND ENRICHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CULTURE -- NATIONAL IN FORM AND INTERNATIONAL IN CONTENT.

OUR COUNTRY IS A UNION OF REPUBLICS THAT ARE SOVIET AND SOCIALIST. Every union republic is a sovereign Soviet socialist state which has united together with the other Soviet republics into a united family of nations.

REPUBLIC -- this word, as known, means "common cause," "a matter of all the people," "nationwide cause," "rule of the people." It is not accidental that this term is applied to the national-state formations in our country that most fully reflect these concepts, unlike the most varied types of republics known to the history of mankind in which the people has always been deprived of power and served merely as an object of merciless exploitation by the actual rulers.

It was only the Soviet socialist democracy that restored to the word "republic" its true meaning, and our country was the first in history to win for itself the legitimate right to call itself a UNION OF REPUBLICS.

THE WORD "REPUBLIC" INSPIRES US WITH PRIDE IN OUR FATHERLAND AND REMINDS US OF THE SACRED DUTY OF ALL CITIZENS OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS -- PATRIOTS AND INTERNATIONALISTS -- TO VALUE THE HONOR AND DIGNITY OF THE UNION OF OUR REPUBLICS AS THEY VALUE THE HONOR AND DIGNITY OF EACH OF THEM; TO DEVOTE ALL THEIR CREATIVE ENERGIES TO THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR OWN REPUBLICS AND OF THE ENTIRE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS; TO DEVELOP, EXPAND, DEEPEN AND IMPROVE PRECISELY THE REPUBLICAN, THAT IS, DEMOCRATIC FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SYSTEM OF SOCIETY; TO AFFIRM IN ALL SPHERES OF OUR SOCIAL LIFE THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM: AND TO FOSTER IN ALL WAYS THE INITIATIVE OF THE MASSES.

If we attempt to uncover the common and deepest meaning of all the four words constituting the name of our country, it can be probably expressed by the concept "REVOLUTIONARY-HUMANIST." For the UNION is the most humanist form of relations among nations and states; the SOVIET is the most humanist form of relations among individuals and groups of individuals, and the most humanist and just form of the solution of all human problems; SOCIALISM is the only truly humanistic system of society; and the REPUBLIC is the only humanistic form of statehood.

And the road toward the world of truth is justice is the revolutionary transformation of society.

All this also means that the very name of our country calls upon us to STRIVE YET MORE PERSISTENTLY FOR A FULL UNCOVERING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMANIST NATURE OF OUR SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AND STATEHOOD.

II

One of the 15 Soviet socialist republics composing the one and mighty Soviet Union is the GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

And the example of Soviet Georgia, like that of all the other union republics, graphically demonstrates the meaning and the outcome of their union, their association into the Soviet Union.

The Great October opened to the people of Soviet Georgia the road toward a veritable economic, social, political and cultural flowering. But this path could be traveled by the workers and peasants of Georgia, after they had won power, only in a close political, economic and military alliance with the other nations that threw off the yoke of the exploiting classes, in an alliance with the great Russian nation whose spirit is characterized by an especially keen sense of social justice and equality among nations.

The communists of Georgia, the working people of our republic, experience a feeling of legitimate pride in the knowledge that Georgia, as part of the Transcaucasian Federation, was one of the initiators of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Our nation also takes pride in the fact that its sons -- famous revolutionaries, played a significant role in the implementation of the Leninist ideas of establishing the multinational socialist state.

Having joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an equal Soviet republic, Georgia not only did not forfeit its national sovereignty, contrary to what our class enemies are trying to prove, but also, in actual fact, for the first time in its centuries-long history, gained reliable guarantees for the preservation of its territorial integrity, natural demographic growth, development of its economy, improvements of social relations, and flowering of culture.

FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER IN HISTORY THE WORKING CLASSES OF GEORGIA FORMED THEIR OWN STATE, A STATE REFLECTING THE WILL AND NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE WORKING POPULATION OF GEORGIA -- WILL AND INTERESTS THAT ARE CLOSELY AND ORGANICALLY BOUND TO THE CLASS INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA OF ALL THE REPUBLICS OF THE SOVIET UNION.

For the first time ever in history the Georgians can enjoy free existence as a nation on a territory whose national boundaries are reliably protected by the entire defense might of the Soviet Union and on which friendship and brotherhood of nations have grown and flourished.

National statehood has also been gained by our brothers in historical destiny and in spirit -- the Abkhazians and Ossetins, as well as by our blood brothers the Adjartsy who had previously been separated from their homeland for centuries.

The internationalist principles of the statehood system of the USSR also underlie the national statehood system of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, and this has produced notable fruit both for the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and for the Adzhar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and also for the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, as well as for the entire Georgia and all Soviet Union.

Soviet Georgia is a socialist national people's state that has contributed and will continue to contribute an ever increasing share to the further strengthening of the foundations of the Soviet state system and perfect its statehood, within whose framework an unprecedented flowering has been reached by the autonomous formations -- the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSOR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast.

SIXTY YEARS OF SOCIALIST CREATIVE WORK WITHIN THE UNITED UNION OF BROTHER NATIONS HAVE RESULTED IN THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMPLETELY NEW SOCIAL RELATIONS IN SOVIET GEORGIA. As in the entire country, in our republic the exploitation of man by man has been liquidated, the socialist system of production has been universally introduced, the moral and political unity of society has been formed, the alliance and workers, peasants and the intelligentsia has strengthened and is developing, and relations among people and nations are governed by trust, mutual assistance, collectivism and comradeship and are the most democratic and most humane relations possible, arisen on the soil of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

Like all our country, Soviet Georgia is strong in a new type of patriotism -- socialist patriotism, which engenders not only love and respect for one's own nation but also fidelity to the entire socialist, Soviet people. As in our entire country, in Soviet Georgia reigns an atmosphere of genuine internationalist friendship and brotherhood of nations.

THE UNSHAKABLE FRIENDSHIP AND GENUINE BROTHERHOOD OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES FINDS ITS REAL AND PARTICULAR EXPRESSION IN ALL SPHERES AND DOMAINS OF LIFE.

IN THE SPHERE OF ECONOMICS the material foundation of this unshakable friendship and brotherhood is the integrated national economic complex. The significance of that complex and its inexhaustible potential are indicated by the fact alone that in the past decade the country's production potential has virtually doubled. During the same period per capita national income increased nearly 50 percent. This is a gigantic leap! Just consider: in the United States, for example, the analogous indicator over the same period increased 25 percent; in Great Britain, 16; in the FRG, 30; and in France, 35 percent.

Such a leap forward in our country could be accomplished only in such a community of working people as the Soviet Union, in which the achievements of the world scientific and technological revolution are closely meshed with the advantages of the socialist system of society.

An inseparable part of this integrated national economic complex of our country is Georgia, which has been from the very first days of the victory of Soviet rule living and working according to the formula: "THE COUNTRY FOR THE REPUBLIC, THE REPUBLIC FOR THE COUNTRY."

The more than 60 years of experience in joint economic construction have demonstrated to the nations of the USSR that the dynamic functioning of the country's integrated national economic complex and its might and flexibility provide the most reliable guarantee of the steady rise in national welfare and flowering of the economy, science and culture in every union republic.

This also has been witnessed by the working people of Georgia.

Consider the language of figures. In the last 20 years the most general indicators of economic growth -- gross national product and national income -- rose by a factor of 3.7 and 3.8 times, respectively. This means that in just one day the gross national product and national income generated in this republic is equal to that generated over 4 days 20 years ago. We attach special importance to this because, the faster the growth rate of national income the higher the material welfare of the nation becomes, especially when that rate exceeds the rate of population growth as is happening in our Georgia and in the country as a whole.

Currently, more than three-fourths of national income, or about four-fifths if allowance is made out outlays on housing and socio-cultural development, are spent on improving national welfare.

Once a peasant, agrarian land, Georgia has not become a leading industrially developed republic, and now it is precisely INDUSTRY that plays the leading role in the formation of the structure of the gross national product and national income, accounting for more than one-half of both.

Suffice it to mention that the industrial potential of the republic is doubling every 10 years, and that the value of the basic fixed assets of industry totals several billion rubles. Any country on our planet would envy such a growth rate, such a growth. To illustrate the hugeness of these assets, consider that currently the volume of fixed production assets put into operation each month equals the volume of assets put into operation during the entire year 1940.

During the first few five-year plan periods 30 new industrial subsectors have been established in Georgia, including machinetool building, power industry, ferromanganese industry, petroleum refining, light and canning industries and the building materials industry. More than 800 industrial facilities were built. They gave life to new industrial centers at which Georgia's working class grew up and gained in strength.

The present-day level of the republic's industry is dominated by instrument making, electrotechnical, radioelectronics and other progressive industrial subsectors.

Today our industry produces as much in one day as it had produced in the entire year 1921. Each day we generate more than 40 million kilowatt-hours of electrical energy or fourfold as much as all of electricity generated during 1922, and produce 60 trucks. Once every 3 days we produce an electric locomotive and nearly 1,500 tons of steel pipe -- as much as had been produced over two and one-half months 30 years ago.

Consider moreover that now as much manganese ore is being extracted in 7 days as had been extracted during the entire 1922; as much tea is being produced in half a month as had been produced during the entire 1937; 12 times as much canned food is being produced as had been produced during the entire 1922; the weekly output of wine is equal to that of the wine produced during the entire first year of the formation of the Soviet Union; and the monthly output of carbonated soft drinks is equal to their output during the entire 1930.

The industry of the autonomous areas is growing at an accelerated pace. In the Abkhaz ASSR there now successfully function fuel, power, instrument-making, machine-building and chemical industries, along with light, food and building materials industries. In the Adzhar ASSR the same applies to the petroleum refining, machine building, electrotechnical, light and food industries. Day after day the industry of the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast is growing.

Compared with 1940 the volume of industrial output in the Abkhaz ASSR increased by a factor of nearly 13 and in the Adzhar ASSR, nearly 6; and in the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, more than 35.

Today it is particularly pertinent to stress that GEORGIA HAS BEEN ABLE TO DEVELOP SO INTENSIVELY AND CONCURRENTLY SUCH COMPLEX INDUSTRIAL SUBSECTORS ONLY WITH THE FRATERNAL ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT OF ALL THE OTHER UNION REPUBLICS, THANKS TO THE MIGHTY INTEGRATED NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPLEX OF THE COUNTRY.

Georgia at present accounts for 30 percent of all manganese ore extraction in this country and produces 30 percent of all railroad trunk-line electric locomotives. The republic, moreover, accounts for nearly 100 percent of all citrus fruits grown in this country, along with 94 percent of quality tea leaves, 13 percent of grapes, etc.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Party Organizations of the Georgian SSR To Prepare for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR" culminates with an expression of firm confidence that THE WORKERS, KOLKHOZ MEMBERS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA OF THE REPUBLIC SHALL, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF THE TRIED AND TESTED DETACHMENT OF THE CPSU -- THE GEORGIAN CP, CELEBRATE THIS GLORIOUS JUBILEE WITH NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN FULFILLING THE PLEDGES FOR THE JUBILEE YEAR AND FOR THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN PERIOD AS A WHOLE AND IMPLEMENTING THE DECISIONS OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS AND THE TASKS OF BUILDING COMMUNISM.

EVEN NOW, ON THE EVE OF THIS GLORIOUS JUBILEE, THE WORKING CLASS OF GEORGIA reports that the plans and socialist pledges for industrial production during the first 10 months of the year have been successfully fulfilled. The highest growth rates were achieved in the subsectors that spearhead scientific and technical progress. The plan of output was exceeded by 217 million rubles and the plan of sales by 122 million. The growth rate of industrial production was 5.5 percent against the planned 4.8 percent for the year. Production in the higher quality category increased nearly 14 percent.

Labor productivity grew 3.9 percent. This indicator accounted for 73 percent of the entire increase in industrial output. The annual targets for the conservation of the principal types of raw materials, fuel and electrical energy were fulfilled.

THE RED BANNER OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, THE ALL-UNION CENTRAL TRADE UNIONS COUNCIL AND THE KOMSOMOL CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AWARDED US TODAY FOR ETERNAL SAFEKEEPING, WAS WON BY TENACIOUS AND SELFLESS LABOR OF OUR GLORIOUS WORKING CLASS.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC WORKING CLASS OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS! GLORY TO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF OUR REPUBLIC!

However, despite the whole festive atmosphere at present I must say that on the whole this year, like the entire 11th Five-Year Plan period as well, is a rather difficult time to us. Owing to the limitations on raw material resources in this country, the planned volume of industrial output for the republic was cut back by nearly 385 million rubles. Owing to natural disasters that destroyed a considerable part of the harvests of grapes, fruits and certain commercial crops, the output of the processing industry will fall short of the target by tens of millions of rubles at year end.

To surmount these difficulties, we had to take extraordinary measures. Work has to be done on Saturdays and, in certain industrial subsectors, especially the processing industries, even on Sundays. Well, as the saying goes, difficulties exist in order to be overcome!

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to turn to all working people of the republic with the appeal to exert all their energies and strength, to mobilize all reserves, to utilize all resources in order to FULFILL THE PLAN AND PLEDGES FOR THE SECOND YEAR OF THE 11TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN NO MATTER WHAT!

Urgent steps should be taken to overcome the lag in a number of enterprises as regards the fulfillment of the plans for the production and sales of products, contractual deliveries and increase in labor productivity.

Great importance should be attached to strengthening state, work and implementation discipline on every sector of production and management, streamlining the organization and efficiency of operations, maintaining public order consistently, and creating everywhere and in everything, at all levels and in all elements, a highly demanding and principled atmosphere. There should be no violators of discipline among us, and no mercy for them!

The fraternal assistance of the nations of our great country has assured the socialist transformation of Georgia's AGRICULTURE. During the most difficult years following the establishment of new agriculture the republic constantly sensed the support of the entire country. We received agricultural machinery and fertilizers from all parts of the country.

On the basis of broad mechanization, the introduction of industrialized crop growing techniques and the conduct of large-scale land reclamation measures, rural toilers began to attain record crops of tea, grapes, citrus and other fruits and vegetables.

OVER 60 YEARS GROSS AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT IN THE REPUBLIC INCREASED BY A FACTOR OF 13.5 COMPARED WITH AN INCREASE OF 5.2 TIMES FOR THE UNION AS A WHOLE. In 1980 the output per 100 hectares of farmland in the republic averaged nearly 67,000 rubles and in this indicator the republic ranks third in the country. The production of citrus fruits and tea leaf increased by a factor of more than 10 compared with the prewar year of 1940; grapes, by a factor of 6; fruits and berries, by a factor of nearly 5; potatoes, by a factor of 3; milk, by a factor of 1.8; meat, by a factor of 2; eggs, by a factor of 2.6; and wool, by a factor of 1.8.

From the first agricultural societies and cooperatives for joint working of land to the higher organizational form of specialized production in the countryside -- the agroindustrial associations -- SUCH WAS THE HISTORIC PATH TRAVELED BY THE SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE OF SOVIET GEORGIA.

TODAY, ON THE EVE OF THE GLORIOUS JUBILEE [60th anniversary of the USSR], GEORGIA's KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY REPORTS: the 60th anniversary of the USSR is being celebrated with a glorious labor victory -- nearly 540,000 tons of tea leaf were harvested and processed. Such a record crop had never before been harvested in the republic. The plan for grain sales has been fulfilled. More than 150,000 tons of grain were poured into the granaries.

This labor victory was marked by a cordial letter of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee, which arrived several days prior to the regular November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The letter states that this accomplishment is due to THE PURPOSIVE WORK OF THE REPUBLIC PARTY ORGANIZATION, the increased skill of the tea growers, specialists and managers of farms, and the selfless labor of all workers of the agroindustrial complex.

We responded to that letter of greetings with a feeling of deep gratification and sincere gratitude.

The targets for the procurements of potatoes, sugar beets, wool and silk cocoons have been fulfilled. The procurements of fruits, vegetables and animal husbandry products are successfully continuing; this includes citrus fruits as well.

THE RED BANNER HANDED TO US TODAY WAS WON BY TENACIOUS AND SELFLESS LABORS OF OUR GLORIOUS KOLKHOZ PEASANTRY, SOVKHOZ WORKERS AND ALL OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION WORKERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

PRAISE AND HONOR TO THEM, OUR KOLKHOZ MEMBERS, SPECIALISTS OF OUR AGRICULTURE!

Major accomplishments have been scored during 60 years in the field of CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION. The volume of capital investments in the republic's national economy during the last 10 years totaled 15 billion rubles. To visualize this scale of growth, consider that this is 132 million rubles more than had been put into operation during the first 50 years of Soviet rule in Georgia.

The capacity of the construction base, which can cope with large-scale tasks, is indicated by the fact that under Soviet rule housing construction in Georgia totaled more than 60 million square meters, which is equal to nearly five present-day Tbilisis.

The republic's capital construction is linked by thousands of threads to the country's entire integrated national economic complex. More than 120 cities in this country helped build that power giant of the Transcaucasus -- the unique Ingurskaya Hydroelectric Power Station. This is a continuation of the glorious traditions initiated during the construction of ZAGES [Zemo-Avchala Hydroelectric Power Plant], KhramGES/Khrami Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Zestafon Ferroalloys Plans, the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant, the Kutaisi Automotive Plant and the Upper-Alazan Irrigation System, on which worked messengers from all the fraternal Soviet republics.

And now, as pointed out in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on Georgia, in connection with the preparations for the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the multi-national collectives of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Railroad], Tyumen and Nonchernozem Zone construction sites, in whose work messengers of Soviet Georgia also successfully take part, have become a school of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, of political and work maturity.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan period alone more than 270 large enterprises and complexes for industrial, agricultural and cultural-communal purposes have been put into operation in this republic.

In recent years it has become a good tradition to fulfill plans for housing construction as well as for the construction of schools, preschools, hospitals and vocational and technical technikums. During the present jubilee year alone more than 790,000 square meters of dwelling area has been released for occupancy, which is 23 percent more than in a like period last year. During the 10th Five-Year Plan period alone as much housing had been released for occupancy as during the first four five-year plan periods taken together.

THE RED BANNER HANDED US TODAY WAS WON BY THE TENACIOUS AND SELFLESS LABOR OF OUR REMARKABLE BUILDERS. GIVING THEM THE CREDIT DUE THEM, TODAY WE TURN TO YOU WITH THE APPEAL: INCREASE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CAPITAL OUTLAYS, BUILD RAPIDLY AND WELL AND ON A TECHNICALLY UP-TO-DATE BASIS!

GLORY TO OUR BUILDERS!

Today we celebrate a holiday. And on holidays one always wants to point to accomplishments and sum up what has been achieved so far. And all that has been achieved and accomplished during the 60 years of existence of the USSR was done in the name of the great purpose of communism -- "EVERYTHING FOR MAN, IN THE NAME OF MAN!"

It is for man and in the name of man, for the welfare of the people, that everyone works in our country and the entire national economy operates. The effect of this on the rise in the welfare of the working people is illustrated by the example of our republic where during the last 10 years alone the per capita consumed national income

increased by a factor of 1.5, the per capita real income by a factor of 1.6 and the mean monthly wage by a factor of nearly 1.4.

Real income of kolkhoz members, workers and clerical personnel has markedly increased. As throughout the country, guaranteed wages have been introduced in the kolkhozes along with a uniform pension and social security system.

The allowances and benefits received by the population from the social consumption funds have markedly increased. This year alone nearly 2 billion rubles, or twice as much as in 1970, has been allocated for free education, medical services, paid annual leaves, advanced skill training, the upkeep of children in preschools, and allowances, pensions and stipends.

Consumer savings are steadily rising in the banks. The public health services are improving. In the last 10 years retail trade turnover has increased nearly twofold and the volume of consumer services by a factor of 2.5.

Georgia is a land fortunate in health spas; it is the health resort of the entire union. More than half a million people each year rest in our sanitariums, rest homes and boarding homes. New sanitariums, rest homes, boarding homes and tourist facilities are being built. Each year tens of thousands of children stay gratis or at reduced rates in children's sanitariums, boarding homes and Pioneer camps.

It is in a creatively flourishing state that our republic welcomes the 60th anniversary of the USSR. And all that has been accomplished and achieved in our republic became possible, became a living daily reality, primarily because SOVIET GEORGIA WAS, IS AND SHALL REMAIN AN INSEPARABLE ORGANIC PART OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS -- that united socialist fatherland of all our nations!

In close fraternal cooperation among the union republic an unprecedented flowering has been attained by the SOVIET MULTINATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CULTURE.

The culture of Soviet Georgia is nourished by the same inexhaustible wellspring as that nourishing the entire national Soviet socialist culture -- the great ideas of communist transformation of the world, the Leninist ideas of the friendship and brotherhood of the nations of the Soviet Union.

We can speak with a legitimate pride of the ancient and high culture of Georgia. At the same time, we reflect with understandable anguish that our nation had far from always been provided with favorable conditions for manifesting its creative genius. And again, it was only in our times, in the era of socialism, thanks to the incorporation in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the working classes of Georgia were provided with every condition for the manifestation and flowering of their creative talents and obtained unlimited possibilities for mastering the loftiest achievements of world culture and taking a direct part in the creative development of the culture of the new world.

We are no longer amazed by the presence in Georgia of two universities, 20 other higher schools, thousands of secondary schools, hundreds of vocational and technical colleges, and the transition to universal mandatory secondary education. And yet before the revolution the best minds of Georgia had merely dreamed of one university and the overwhelming majority of the population was deprived of the possibility of receiving even partial secondary education. As known, Ilya Chavchavadze had dreamed of a time when there would be at least 10 engineers and agronomists in Georgia.

Turning to the problems of public education in the republic we primarily think, as a rule, of the need to improve the performance of schools, vocational and engineering colleges and technikums, and higher schools. This is natural considering that the present-day level of our economy and culture urgently requires continuing improvements in the performance of the public education system.

But it would be unfair, to say the least, to overlook the fact that we owe all our achievements in economy and culture precisely to our Soviet educational system, a system of genuinely nationwide education which imparts the best present-day knowledge to the broad masses of working people and virtually to the entire nation.

The desire for education, the desire to learn the highest values of intellectual culture, has always been characteristic of our nation. This is extremely eloquently illustrated by the entire history of our culture which, as L.I. Brezhnev had said, is in many ways unique. The Soviet system of public education has channeled this desire along the sole correct and noble revolutionary-humanist path -- the path of developing a Soviet culture that is national in form, socialist in content, and international in spirit and orientation.

The unflagging concern of the Communist Party and Soviet state for the ideological purity and professional mastery of scientists and artists and for strengthening the material base of intellectual culture, as well as the very development of Georgian Soviet culture in the mainstream of the socialist culture of the USSR, in the mainstream of incessant fruitful interinfluencing and mutual enrichment of cultures of the nations of our country, have produced truly remarkable results.

The present-day science in Soviet Georgia, which develops within the system of the GSSR Academy of Sciences and at the departmental scientific research institutes and higher schools of the republic occupies the most advanced positions of Soviet science, which strides in the vanguard of world scientific progress. We have grown accustomed to speaking with legitimate pride of the world-renowned Georgian scientific schools of mathematicians, physiologists, physicists, geologists, historians, philosophers, linguists, Orientalists and psychologists. But Georgian Soviet scientists make major contributions to the development of many other branches of Soviet and hence also world science as well.

We attach special importance to the 6th plenum of the Georgian CP Central Committee that took place in May of this year. This plenum, in which the broad scientific community took part both in its preparations and in its deliberations, outlined realistic ways of increasing the effectiveness of scientific research and accelerating the integration of science with production, and discussed and approved new forms of creative collaboration between scientists and practitioners.

The implementation of the plenum's decisions becomes even more topical at present in the light of the explicit recommendations of Yu.V. Andropov expressed at the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, concerning THE UNCONDITIONAL NECESSITY OF ACCELERATING THE APPLICATION OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ON THE BASIS OF TIGHTENING THE RESPONSIBILITY AND FOSTERING THE INITIATIVE OF ALL ON WHOM DEPENDS THE UTILIZATION OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION.

As for the artistic culture of modern Georgia, and especially its veritable flowering in recent years, it is the pride of not just our republic but the entire Union. All the more so considering that the universal revolutionary humanism inherent in and attracting worldwide attention to the best works of Georgian Soviet writers, artists, composers, architects, and theatre and cinema artists, is a fundamental and characteristic feature of the art of socialist realism, a reflection of the organic synthesis of the national and the international in Soviet artistic culture.

The all-conquering ideas of the love, friendship and brotherhood of nations have behind them centuries-long traditions in Georgian literature -- traditions that are most brilliantly reflected in the works of the great Shot Rustaveli. Over centuries, eminent Georgian thinkers, poets, writers and public activists carried and continue to carry in their lives and works, like an undying light, the idea of friendship and brotherhood, of profound respect and benevolence for all working people on earth.

To live in peace and friendship is the age-old dream of our nation, as of all the other nations of our country. Sixty years ago, Georgian artists had been provided with truly limitless vistas for translating into reality their artistic concepts and designs, permeated by the spirit of internationalism. These concepts and designs found their expression in the best works of Galaktion Tabidze, Lado Gudiashvili, Zakhariy Paliashvili, Yakov Nikoladze, Kote Mardzhanishvili, Sandro Akhmeteli, and many other co-creators of Georgian Soviet artistic culture.

The glorious tradition of the older generation is worthily continued by the present-day generation of truly talented and creative intelligentsia. Recent years have been marked by a notable flowering of artistic creativity in literature, pictorial arts, music, theatre, cinema and architecture, in all of which remarkable works enriching the multinational Soviet culture have been created.

A major contribution to the development of the republic's artistic culture has been made by the litterateurs and artists of Abkhaziya, Adzhariya and South Osetiya as well as writers working in Georgia but writing their works in the Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Kurdish and other languages of the peoples of the USSR.

We all deeply rejoice in the growing acknowledgement of our art in the Soviet Union and abroad -- a recognition due to its high artistic and ideological merits, its concern with and the light it sheds on profound philosophical problems of the present day, its illumination of the spiritual beauty of Soviet man, and its graphic reflection of the truth of the life of our society and, in particular, the development of nations and national cultures in the USSR.

We all take pride also in the high esteem in which our scientists and artists are held by the Communist party and Soviet state. How can one not rejoice knowing that the winners of Lenin and State prizes include quite a few of our writers, scientists, artists, sculptors, composers, painters, and actors and directors of the state and screen?!

These high distinctions are yet another proof and official acknowledgement of the weighty contribution of Georgia's scientists, writers and artists to the development of the Soviet multinational intellectual culture.

Just as the multinational Soviet artistic culture today would be inconceivable without the contributions of, for example, Georgian, Abkhazian and Osetian artistic cultures, so their own existence and development would be inconceivable without their constant interaction and mutual enrichment with the cultures of the fraternal nations of the Soviet Union and primarily the culture of the great Russian nation.

And the process of this interinfluencing and mutual enrichment is characteristic not only of the artistic values being created at present but also of the entire progressive cultural heritage of nations. The works of Shot Rustaveli, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, David Guramishvili, Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ilya Chavchavadze, Avakiy Tsereteli, Vazh Pshavel, Galaktion Tabidze, Dmitriy Gulia and Kost Khetagurov are nowadays the common property of all the nations of our country and close to all progressive mankind, while the spiritual values created by Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Tolstoy, Gorki, Mayakovsky and the great sons of all other nations of our country and the entire world have entered, so to speak, the blood of the intellectual culture of Soviet Georgia.

Here too manifests itself brightly the most lofty humanist mission of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one of whose main and fundamental purposes is bringing together and relating nations and their cultures; here too is reflected the wise Leninist nationality and cultural policy of the Communist party and Soviet state.

THE RED BANNER HANDED US TODAY WAS WON BY THE CREATIVE AND INSPIRED LABOR OF OUR SOVIET INTELLIGENTSIA. AND WE ARE FIRMLY CONFIDENT THAT WRITERS AND ARTISTS, OUR GLORIOUS SCIENTISTS, CULTURAL WORKERS, EDUCATORS AND PUBLIC HEALTH WORKERS -- ALL THE DETACHMENTS

OF OUR INTELLIGENTSIA -- SHALL ATTAIN NEW NOTABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS: THAT THEY SHALL CREATE WORKS WORTHY OF OUR GREAT HOMELAND, SHALL CARRY HIGH THE BANNER OF IDEOLOGY, PARTY-MINDEDNESS AND NATIONALITY OF SOVIET ART, SHALL IMPROVE IN ALL WAYS THE QUALITY OF THE INSTRUCTION AND POLITICAL, WORK AND MORAL EDUCATION OF THE RISING GENERATION, TRAIN IDEOLOGICALLY MATURE AND COMPETENT EXPERTS, DISPLAY UNFLAGGING CONCERN FOR THE HEALTH OF SOVIET PEOPLE, AND IMPROVE MEDICAL SERVICES IN ALL WAYS!

GLORY TO OUR PEOPLE'S INTELLIGENTSIA!

Today we repeat: the culture of our republic could soar so mightily under Soviet rule solely owing to the fact that SOVIET GEORGIA WAS, IS AND SHALL REMAIN AN INSEPARABLE ORGANIC PART OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS -- the united socialist fatherland of all our nations.

Comrades!

TODAY WE SHALL SPEAK OF THE SOVIET UNION, of the 60th anniversary of establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

USSR. Four letters. And behind these letters stand four words, each of which reveals the deep meaning and profound significance of the name of our Soviet socialist people's state blazing THE TRAIL TOWARD THE KINGDOM OF PEACE, WORK, FREEDOM, EQUALITY, BROTHERHOOD AND HAPPINESS.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS has shown the path toward genuine progress to all mankind; it has created a new, socialist civilization with an ECONOMY growing vigorously in a planned manner and without economic depressions, with SOCIAL AND NATIONALITY RELATIONS free of antagonisms, with a genuinely democratic SYSTEM OF STATEHOOD, with a socialist WAY OF LIFE based on collectivism and relations of friendship and cooperation as well as on harmonious meshing of personal and public interests, with a realistic, optimistic, humanistic PUBLIC CONSCIENCE, having created a society in which ALL SERVE AND SHALL SERVE THE GOOD OF MAN!

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has bestowed upon the nations of our fatherland every opportunity for the full manifestation, release and flowering of their creative spirit, their creative intellectual, moral and esthetic potential.

III

TODAY, ON LOOKING BACK AT THE PATH TRAVELED IN 60 YEARS, SUMMING UP THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND VICTORIES AND REJOICING IN THE SUCCESSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC AS WELL AS OF THE ENTIRE MULTINATIONAL SOVIET PEOPLE, WE DIRECT OUR EYES, THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS TOWARD THE PARTY OF THE GREAT LENIN, which stood at the wellsprings of the formation of the USSR.

Our party has become a genuine leader of the working people of all the nations and nationalities of our country, and all the 60 years of socialist creative work have passed under the sign of close solidarity of the nations of our country with the Communist Party.

Today, on this holiday, we cannot omit mentioning also the difficulties encountered in forming our socialist state. This process has been complicated and indirect. Consider that millions upon millions of people gave up their lives in the struggle for a bright future of mankind, on the barricades of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on the fronts of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, and through death from starvation and cold. They died, they accepted death, for the sake of the life of their nation, defending their socialist fatherland, their Soviet state.

But the people endured the severest trials known in history. And the people survived and endured -- and won!

We built the world's first socialist state and at this solemn moment we must also declare that mistakes also took place in the history of our state. This has been repeatedly, candidly, plainly and honestly stated to our nation by our party and its Central Committee.

We were the first. We were the pioneers, the trailblazers, the first discoverers. We were and remain today revolutionaries blazing a new path.

Having overcome all the difficulties and endured all the tests and trials, our people, under the leadership of the party, has always emerged from this struggle tougher, ever stronger and more cohesive and monolithic. And it has never ceased being optimistic. Therein, of a certainty, lies the principal strength of Marxism-Leninism -- the unshakability of our doctrine of scientific communism.

The role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading and directing force of the Soviet society and the core of its political system and state and public organizations was consolidated in the new Constitution of the USSR which declares that THE CPSU EXISTS FOR THE PEOPLE AND SERVES THE PEOPLE.

Throughout the 60 years of its existence Soviet Georgia ascertained by direct experience the indefatigable toil invested by the party in expanding the economy and culture of all the nations of our country and equalizing the level of the economic and social development of each republic. This was so in the years of industrialization. This was so in the years of the collectivization of agriculture. This was so in the years of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar economic rebirth.

And this is so now. This is sensed with special strength during this past decade since the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the Tbilisi city party committee. The purpose of that party document, like that of all the subsequent CPSU Central Committee resolutions concerning Georgia and its party organization, was primarily to strengthen its economic potential and help working people solve better the tasks of building communism. Therein we perceive a manifestation of the unflagging concern and continuing attention paid by the Central Committee of our party and its Politburo to the genuine flowering of the economy and culture of Soviet Georgia as well as of those of the country's other union republics.

The strategic line in the economic and social development of the Georgian SSR has become the task posed to us -- that of RISING WITHIN THE NEXT FEW YEARS TO THE UNION-WIDE AVERAGE LEVEL WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN MAJOR INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

The implementation of that line is reflected in the results of the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan period, during which the relative lag of this republic as regards generated per capita national income was reduced 4.7 points compared with the union-wide average; as regards industrial output, 1.6 points; and as regards agricultural output, 6.5 points.

The task of equalizing the levels of economic growth in all the autonomous formations and regions of this republic is being implemented just as successfully, in which connection, in recent years, more than 40 decrees of the Georgian CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have been issued.

Throughout those 60 years Soviet Georgia has been receiving direct proofs of the tremendous attention being paid by the Communist party to the national interests and national feelings of our nation, and of all the other Soviet nations as well.

The CPSU Central Committee considers the most important task of the republic party organization to continue purposeful work on the rapprochement of the republic's nationalities and ethnic groups on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect and trust and fraternal friendship of all the nations of the USSR.

And the Georgian CP, like the entire Communist Party of the Soviet Union, multinational in its composition and deeply international in ideology, politics, organizational structure and principles of action, will guard like the apple of its eye the Leninist friendship of nations and channel onto that path the talents and spiritual ardor of communists and the knowledge and organizational skills of the cadres, which were the other day so highly praised by PRAVDA.

And all this produces specific results. The international solidarity of work collectives become ever close and their ties with the work collectives of all the other fraternal republics are growing stronger. The civic activity of the masses is growing. The struggle against all deviations from the norms of communist morality -- against all that which conflicts with the principles of the advanced socialist society -- is growing.

In recent years the internationalist education of working people has acquired new forms and content and become more systematic. In this work we have solid material support. All this promotes the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust among all the nationalities and ethnic groups living in our republic, an atmosphere of respect toward national feelings and characteristics, toward the dignity and culture of each nationality, an atmosphere of intensified ideological-educational work among the various nationality groups.

A major contribution to the patriotic and internationalist education of youth is being made by the commanding officers and political organs of the Red Banner Transcaucasian Military District and the Red Banner Transcaucasian Border District. We shall continue to strengthen in all ways the bonds between the work collectives of the republic and Transcaucasian military personnel and to conduct this work on a broader and more solid basis, upon relating it more closely to the rising tasks of economic and cultural construction and the tightening of the responsibility of communists and managerial cadres for the economic situation for for promoting a still healthier moral atmosphere in the republic -- an atmosphere that should be as pure as our mountain air.

Today in Soviet Georgia reins an atmosphere of solidarity and unanimity. As never before, there exists among us a strong brotherhood of working people of various nationalities. And everyone now has ascertained that mutual association in one union multiplies the strength of all the nations and accelerates their social and economic growth. We all witness the foresight and wisdom of the Leninist party, which perceived the latent great, indomitable and creative strength of the international solidarity of nations.

IT IS OUR SACRED DUTY TO MULTIPLY THAT STRENGTH, TO CEMENT IN ALL WAYS THE FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS, INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!

Soviet Georgia has established and promotes the growth of strong economic, cultural and social bonds with all the other fraternal republics of the country and primarily with the Russian Federation, to which belongs the decisive role in the establishment of the united union state. For it is precisely round the RSFSR that rally, on voluntary principles, all the other Soviet republics. As declared in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the RSFSR, being the first multinational Soviet state, was the prototype of the USSR.

Soviet Georgia and all our people, all the working nation of the republic, know from direct experience that the Russian people, regardless of difficulties and privations, has provided selfless assistance to other nations of the country in defending their revolutionary conquests and has to to this day been making an invaluable contribution to the economic and social growth of all the other union republics.

The working people of Soviet Georgia shall never forget how, during the most trying first few years of the formation of the Georgian Republic, Russia has provided equipment for new plants, food, clothing, footwear and money. Tens, hundreds and

thousands of Russian workers labored on our construction sites during the first few five-year plan periods, and many of them had remained here, making Georgia their second homeland. Hundreds of our young experts received their education in higher schools of Moscow, Leningrad and other cities of the RSFSR, which is linked to Georgia by thousands of threads of fraternal cooperation, mutual assistance and partnership.

Day after day, hour after hour, Soviet Georgia is made aware of the great extent of the fruitfulness and beneficence of its fraternal friendship with all the other nations of our country led by the great Russian nation.

Our nation has always strived toward friendship and brotherhood with other nations. It was precisely an innate leaning toward an alliance with a spiritually close nation that had been the chief reason for the conclusion of the Georgian Treaty -- the first manifesto of the friendship and brotherhood of the Russian and Georgian nations. Next year we shall celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of that historic document, and today we are deeply gratified to repeat the words uttered by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev: OUR ANCESTORS HAD MADE THE RIGHT CHOICE 200 YEARS AGO!

The commencement of the kinship between Georgia and Russia was a notable prologue to the present-day unity and brotherhood of the Georgian nation with the great Russian nation and with all the other nations of our great homeland.

Two Russias are known in history.

The Russia of the tsar, of landowners and capitalists. And the Russian whence emanated the light of liberation ideas, the Russia of the Decembrists and Griboyedov, of Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, the Russia of Lenin -- the homeland of Leninism, the cradle of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The alliance with Russia had, despite the fact that tsarism and the bourgeois-landowner system of society were the worst enemies of the working people, both Russian and non-Russian nations, signified to Georgia not only salvation from the danger of physical destruction. The alliance with the Russian people helped Georgia to regain the southern provinces previously torn from it, enabled the Georgian people to consolidate and develop its economy and culture and icnrease in numbers, and caused it to be part of the all-Russian revolutionary-liberation movement, and in 1921 opened to it the path of socialist development, which led Soviet Georgia toward a genuine rebirth.

WHAT BUT ALLIANCE WITH THE GREAT RUSSIA COULD HAVE BEEN A TRUER CHOICE MADE BY OUR ANCESTORS?! We shall continue to strengthen our friendship and brotherhood with the Russian people, foster a deeply respectful attitude toward it, and strengthen and broaden the bonds of Soviet Georgia with all the other fraternal Union republics.

WE HAVE ALWAYS PROCEEDED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF NATIONS IS THE GUARANTEE OF THEIR ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FLOWERING, AND THAT THAT FLOWERING IN ITS TURN CONTRIBUTES TO THEIR FURTHER RAPPROCHEMENT. These are two sides of a single dialectical process.

Thus, by carrying on an accelerated socio-economic development of Georgia and of all its regions we by the same token objectively strengthen still further the friendship and brotherhood of all the nations of our great homeland.

LOOKING BACK AT THE PATH TRAVELED OVER 60 YEARS, WE TURN OUR EYES, THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS TOWARD VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN, who had deeply substantiated the need for the closest possible union of Soviet republics with the object of accomplishing the tasks of building socialism and protecting the homeland against the encroachments of imperialism.

In his speech on the 112th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin Comrade Yu.V. Andropov declared that TREMENDOUS ATTENTION TO THE EXPERIENCE OF THE MASSES, FAITH IN THEIR INEXHAUSTIBLE CREATIVE POTENTIAL, AND THE ABILITY TO EXPRESS THEIR IDEAS AND INTERESTS

IN THE FORM OF CLEAR POLITICAL SLOGANS AND PROGRAMS OF ACTION RUN LIKE A RED THREAD THROUGH THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF LENINISM.

In all our work and practical activities we constantly guide ourselves by Leninist precepts and directives stated in the letters of V.I. Lenin to Georgia. Many pages of the works of Vladimir Ilich Lenin are devoted to the revolutionary traditions of the working class and laboring peasantry of Georgia and the entire Transcaucasus, and they contain the conclusion that "the special conditions of socio-political life in the Caucasus favored the creation there of the most militant organizations of our party." They also contain invaluable advice on paths of socialist transformation in the Soviet republics of the Caucasus, on the need "to develop with utmost effort... the productive forces of that rich land" -- crude petroleum, manganese, coal (Tkvarchelskiye mines), and copper -- such is the far from complete list of the vast natural riches and to "commence major electrification and irrigation projects," which V.I. Lenin considered "of special importance to the improvement of farming and animal husbandry, no matter what" and which "are needed most of all and will be most instrumental in changing the face of that land, bringing about its rebirth, burying the past, and strengthening the transition to socialism."

Ardently greeting the Soviet republics of the Caucasus, V.I. Lenin had expressed the hope that their close union would provide an example of a peace among nationalities such as would be unprecedented under the bourgeoisie and impossible in a bourgeois system of society.

SUCH AN EXAMPLE OF PEACE AMONG NATIONALITIES AND A PARAGON OF FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD AMONG NATIONS HAS BEEN CREATED THROUGHOUT OUT COUNTRY FOLLOWING THE VICTORY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS! Herein lies our strength, and herein inheres the guarantee of new victories and accomplishments of the Land of the Soviets!

V.I. Lenin had appealed for ACTING BROADLY, FIRMLY AND COMPETENTLY IN ALL MATTERS with allowance for the entire diversity of particular circumstances of time and place. We act thus and shall continue to act thus!

A continuation of the Leninist line, the Leninist course, is the concern shown by the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo for the dynamic growth of the economies of all the Soviet republics, each of which is characterized by a high and genuinely modern level of the development of industry, agriculture and science along with a genuine flowering of culture, and at the same time distinguished by its own unique appearance and unique national characteristics and features.

The seven resolutions on Georgia and our republic party organization, adopted in the last 10 years, beginning with the decision concerning the Tbilisi city party committee, by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, represent a continuation of the Leninist legacy of concern for Georgia and of a genuinely Leninist attention to the problems of strengthening Georgia's economic, political, social, and cultural potential, as well as a continuation of Lenin's letters to Georgia.

The principle of carrying on Lenin's legacy is also reflected in the last regular November plenum of the Central Committee of our party, which was convened at a particularly responsible moment.

When Leonid Ilich Brezhnev had passed away -- that man with whom we all were linked by thousands of invisible threads and who has left an indelible imprint in our hearts and memories -- the party, AS DURING ANY OTHER TURN OF EVENTS, WHATEVER THE TRIAL OF THE MOMENT, COPED AS ALWAYS WITH ITS HISTORIC MISSION.

At the regular plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held 10 years ago we declared our belief in the great power of the word. The word cures, the word induces courage and hope -- and such precisely were the words uttered at the extraordinary plenum of the

CPSU Central Committee and on Red Square by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov -- mobilizing, weighty, strong words.

V.I. Lenin had said: "The proletarian revolution is strong precisely in the depth of its wellsprings." He stressed: "We know that, in place of people who selflessly gave their lives for this struggle, it advances new leaders... who are broadly linked to the masses, competent to replace the most talented of the casualties with their emulators who continue on their path and complete what their predecessors had begun."

It is precisely this Leninist law that underlies the election of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov to the post of General secretary of the Central Committee.

This decision was ardently welcomed by the entire Soviet nation, and by all progressive mankind. It has met with unanimous approval and support from the communists of Georgia and all working people of our republic.

And when the message to the Communist Party and the Soviet people, promulgated after the sudden demise of L.I. Brezhnev, declared that THE BANNER OF LENIN, THE BANNER OF OCTOBER, UNDER WHICH WORLD-HISTORIC VICTORIES HAD BEEN WON, RESTS IN RELIABLE HANDS, our party and nation associated this declaration not only with the entire great army of communists but also with the man who became the head of that army. Thereby also the boundless trust of the people was expressed. AND THE TRUST OF THE PEOPLE IS THE GREATEST AND MOST PRICELESS GOOD, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT MANIFESTED AT SUCH A DIFFICULT MOMENT.

In his speeches at the November plenums of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu.V. Andropov stated that our party proceeds along the Leninist course developed under the salutary influence of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and that it is boundlessly faithful to the Leninist principles of the succession of legacy.

We regard succession as a particularly dialectical concept and a revolutionary problem. Leninism teaches that, in the era of building communism, succession means not only the consolidation and affirmation of previous achievements, no matter how impressive they may be.

GENUINE SUCCESSION MEANS THE INCESSANT REVOLUTIONARY ELABORATION OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BUILDING COMMUNISM in accordance with the particular historical conditions under which some or other stage of this complex and multifaceted socio-political and economic process evolves.

The history of our party and of the world's first socialist society provides shining examples of genuine succession whose essence consists in an innovative approach to the legacy, traditions and habits, in the elaboration of strategy and tactics appropriate to a given stage of communist construction.

Today, on this solemn day, we are mainly focusing on the successes of the republic, on our accomplishments. This is, of course, quite natural. Such a desire is quite understandable to the comrades. However, once achievements are discussed, it must be stated that the greatest and most important achievement of the Georgian CP in recent years has been -- and this deserves special emphasis today -- the creation in the republic of an atmosphere in which we do not fear to look truth in the eye and tell the people that truth openly, sometimes even when it is a painful truth, in which we publicly discuss our shortcomings, oversights and sometimes mistakes as well. And we still have many shortcomings, some of which are fairly serious and great, as well as many instances of laxity and slackness.

That a highly demanding and mutually exacting spirit increasingly pervades the republic's party organization is evidenced by the fact that we address our criticism -- which often is extremely sharp and unflattering -- not only to those who cease to meet present-day requirements and who find it difficult and arduous to exercise the functions

entrusted to them, so that they can no longer cope with them. We criticize even more greatly and severely our nearest co-workers, party comrades, people of the same mind as we, colleagues, and associates, industrious and honest people, who could accomplish still more but do not always succeed in this and whose performance leaves something to be desired.

We say all this because, even at this solemn moment, we must not forget that many of our fellow citizens still live in sub-optimal housing -- due to the limited capital outlays on housing construction -- and experience major problems owing to the inefficient performance of communal services, stoppages in the supply of electricity, gas and fuel. We are not meeting the consumer demand for meat, butter and other staple products. Many of the still far from extirpated instances of pilferage, extortion, whitewash, and other infractions of the law. Crime is still considerable.

We speak today so boldly and openly of our shortcomings and of the still unsolved problems because we believe in the strength of the party, in the strength and power of our Soviet socialist state and are constantly sensible of the boundless support of our working class, our kolkhoz peasantry, our people's intelligentsia, our glorious youth in the struggle for translating into reality the lofty ideals of communism.

IT IS PRECISELY THIS APPROACH -- THE CONSOLIDATION AND AFFIRMATION OF WHATEVER IS POSITIVE, THE PERMANENT DISSATISFACTION WITH PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS, THE PRINCIPLED AND UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE AGAINST SHORTCOMINGS -- THAT WE VIEW AS PROVIDING THE SOLUTION TO THE TASKS POSED TO US. THIS IS PRECISELY HOW WE INTERPRET THE PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION IN THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR LENINIST PARTY.

TO US COMMUNISTS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE OF GEORGIA, SUCCESSION MEANS PRIMARILY MOVING ONWARD, NOT RESTING ON LAURELS, AVOIDING COMPLACENCY, MERCILESSLY DISCARDING ALL RELICS OF THE PAST, UNCOVERING AND OVERCOMING SHORTCOMINGS, DEVELOPING CREATIVELY BOTH THEORY AND PRACTICE, BEING PRINCIPLED AND BOLD, AND AFFIRMING TRUTH AND JUSTICE. And such a succession should consist not only in the quantitative enhancement of previous successes but also in their development on a qualitatively new basis!

In response to the decisions of the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the appeal of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov for strengthening the unity of the party and the people and firmly following the behests of the great Lenin so as to assure all our future victories, the Georgian CP -- like all the detachments of our party and all the working people of the republic -- and like the entire Soviet people, rallies still more closely round the Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee and is ready to distinguish the year 1983 with new accomplishments in economic and cultural construction and make its own weighty contribution to the further progress of the party along the Leninist path -- toward communism, toward the further flowering of our great homeland -- THE SOVIET UNION.

Comrades!

We come to the end of our speech about our country, the SOVIET UNION. But this speech would not be complete without even a brief mention of the EMBLEM, FLAG AND HYMN OF THE USSR -- symbols of our great Soviet Union that are sacred to every Soviet citizen.

These main symbols of our state focus on all that embodies it -- the unshakable alliance of the working class and peasantry, the inviolable friendship and brotherhood of the working people of all the nations and nationalities of this country, and the monlithic unity of the Soviet people building the communist society.

And the fact that the national emblem of the USSR includes the inscription "PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" in the languages of all the Union republics, on the scarlet stripes braided around the ears of wheat -- the winged words with which ends the K. Marx and F. Engels Manifesto of the Communist Party -- shiningly reflects the idea of the international solidarity of the Soviet people with the workers of all countries.

The slogan "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" calls upon us today to strengthen still further the economy and defense capability of our great country, to fortify the socialist community and the solidarity of the international communist, worker and national-liberation movement, to wage still more consistently the struggle for the interests of the working class and the working people of all countries, for democracy, socialism and peace, and against the aggressive policy of imperialism and the arms race that they are accelerating and which menaces the nations with a nuclear catastrophe, and to implement yet more actively the Leninist strategy for peace, the Program for Peace in the 1980s.

The principal city proclaiming and defending the ideas of peace and friendship among nations in MOSCOW, THE CAPITAL OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS and the main city of our beloved and great homeland. The thoughts and hopes of all Soviet people and the entire progressive mankind are centered on Moscow, on the Kremlin where party congresses take place and where the November plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was recently convened.

And two days later, on 13 December, the days of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR were inaugurated in Moscow, that hero city, city of labor, innovator city, standard-bearer of peace.

The day of 30 December 1922 became the day of the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. On that same day, Moscow became the capital of the entire multinational Soviet Union state.

30 December -- the day before New Year's Eve....

This also has its symbolism.

Just before the New Year 1923 was born a historically unprecedented union of nations, a union of inviolable and free republics wrought forever by Great Russia -- a united and mighty Soviet Union created by the will of the peoples!

...The Kremlin chimes count the hours of history. This, comrades, is the new time which works in our favor, for socialism.

STRIDE FORWARD, LOOK AHEAD -- SO THE GREAT LENIN APPEALED TO US!

AND WE STRIDE ON THIS ROAD, THIS LENINIST COURSE AND PATH -- THE ONLY TRUE PATH, ON WHICH WE ARE LED FORWARD AND FORWARD ALONE BY OUR LENINIST PARTY AND ITS LENINIST CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE POLITBURO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE!

GLORY TO THE GREAT LENINIST PARTY!

LONG LIVE THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS!